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PAWNEE INDIAN SOCIETIES.

BY

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By James R. Murie.

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INTRODUCTION.

The following discussion of Pawnee societies was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared. It being thus essentially an original contribution, the editor has not considered it necessary to add comments on the previous literature. The important titles on the Pawnee are the three articles by John B. Dunbar in the *Magazine of American History* for 1880–81; *Pawnee Hero Stories* (1893) by George Bird Grinnell; *The Hako* (1894) by Miss Alice C. Fletcher; and two volumes of myths by George A. Dorsey; *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (1904) and *The Pawnee Mythology* (1906). In all of these except the two first, Mr. Murie was a collaborator.

While this paper is primarily concerned with societies as treated in the preceding pages, a general outline of the tribal ceremonial scheme is given for perspective, there being no publication to date that treats this subject systematically. This will probably be sufficient to give a general idea of the place and significance of Pawnee societies as parts of their culture complex.

The drawings are by Mr. S. Ichikawa from specimens and sketches furnished by the author.

The Editor.

September, 1914.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAWNEE.

The Pawnee formerly lived along the Platte River in what is now Nebraska. They were composed of four independent tribes, the Skidí, Chauí,[1] Kit'kaháxki, and Pítahauírata. Of these, the Skidí was the largest and in most respects the leading tribe. In language, it differs slightly from the other three tribes which have one and the same dialect. The Skidí were composed of thirteen villages, or bands. The Pítahauírata were in two villages, the Kawarakis and Pítahauirat. The Chauí and Kit'kaháxki were each single villages.

These villages, or bands, were the social units but seemingly placed no rigid restrictions upon marriage. A man got his place in a village through his mother. The women never left the village in which they were born, but if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village. In fact, the villages were in principle endogamous, for a man could not marry outside except with the consent of his village as represented by the governing officials, who usually opposed such unions on the ground that the strength of the village would be depleted.

The Bundle Scheme.

The basis of the social and political organization of the Skidí is their peculiar sacred bundle scheme, the detailed discussion of which does not fall within the scope of this paper. Hence, we shall but briefly note its general outline. The name for a sacred bundle is chúharipiru (chuhuru, rainstorm; ripiru, wrapped up), but sometimes it is spoken of as atira (mother), referring in this case to two ears of corn kept in each bundle and symbolically spoken of as the mother of the people. The reference to rain is due to the conception that the important powers of the world reside in the west, the home of the thunderers, from whence the powers of the bundles come.

[1] The Chauí were known to the French as the Grand Pawnee and their chief as le grand chef. The Skidí all lived on the north side of the Platte in Nebraska while the other three divisions were to the south. In the Journal of La Vérendrye, 1743, the lodge of the Grand Chief is mentioned, which incidentally enables us to locate the route of this explorer. In aboriginal days the Skidí seem to have been noted as cultivators of corn and have traditions of visits from distant tribes to replenish their stock of seed. Even the Comanche made such visits. According to Murie, the Skidí villages were often called the Awahi (Harahey) and when Coronado reached the Wichita they were naturally referred to as the leading people of the country.— Ed.

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778 come. While all these bundles had their individualities, they had certain ceremonies in common: thus at the sound of the first thunder in spring, [782] the keeper of each bundle must immediately open it with the proper procedure and make an offering of dried buffalo meat to the powers in the west.[1] This offering is burned, but after the ceremony the remaining meat is cooked and served.

184 As to how far this applied to the other divisions of the Pawnee, cannot be determined for they have not preserved their bundles and rituals to the 778 same extent as have the Skidí. The Chauí are known to have had three bundles, the Pítahauírata, two; but those of the Kit'kahákxki passed out so long ago that no definite number can be enumerated. The rituals of all these bundles were seemingly different from those of the Skidí in that so far as we know they did not have the regular thunder ceremony, but consecrated the bundles to certain animals. It is not known for certain if the sacred ears of corn were kept in these bundles as in those of the Skidí, but there are some reasons for believing that they were.

103 In the Skidí scheme there were thirteen villages, each of which had a 361 bundle:—

631 1 Tu^{h}rikaku^{h}, center village; the Evening Star bundle.

778 2 Kitkahapaku^{h}tu, old village; the four leading bundles are kept in this village.

3 Tu^{h}hitspiat, stretching out in the bottom lands.

4 Tu^{h}kitskita, village on branch of a river.

5 Tu^{h}wahukasa, village stretching across a hill; the Morningstar bundle. (This bundle was finally divided into two.)

6 Arikararikuchu, big antlered elk standing.

7 Arikararíki^{h}, small antlered elk standing.

8 Tu^{h}huchaku, village in a ravine; the left hand bundle, all use left hands in the ceremony.

9 Tu^{h}warakaku, village in thick timber.

10 Akapaxsawa, skull painted on tipi.

11 Skisa rikus, fish hawk.

12 Stixkautit, black ear of corn.

13 Turawi, part of a village.

631 These thirteen villages were organized or federated under this bundle 778 scheme and so had a common government. The supreme, or original

[821] [1] The Evening Star (calf bundle) is the chief power in the west. Four other stars in the west represent the clouds, thunders, lightning, and the winds, or the four leading bundles. These four stars are supposedly sitting in the west, acting as priests. They are sitting there with a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat; also, they are sitting with a hill of corn, the stalks always green, and a place in front of them as the altar.

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authority resided in the evening star bundle[1] of the center village, but at the time of the federation of these villages, powers were delegated to four special or main bundles which in turn served as the basis of the governing power. These were:— 631 778

1. The Yellow Tipi, or Yellow Star bundle, pertaining to the powers of the Northwest (akarákata, yellow tipi).

2. The Mother-born-again, or White Star bundle, the powers of the Southwest (atíratatariwáta, mother born again).

3. The Leading Cornstalk, or Red Star bundle, the power of the Southeast (skawá'ha kitáwi, literally, a lucky woman as leader, but refers to a corn symbol).

4. The Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, or the bundle "with a round thing tied on" pertains to the Northeast (riwiruchaku, round thing on).

To this list may be added the Human Skull bundle and the North Star bundle. These bundles may be said to be general in the sense that they are attached to no particular village but minister to the Skidí at large.

There were, however, two independent Skidí villages that refused to enter the federation. These were the Squash Vine village (pahukstatu) and Wolf-standing-in-water village (skirirara). Each of these villages had a bundle, but little in common with the ritual scheme of the federated villages.

The federation of the thirteen villages is represented and formalized in a ceremony known as the four-pole ceremony. For this a circular embankment was thrown up with an opening to the east. Out in front of this entrance was a small mound of earth taken from the fire pit and inside at the west a raised altar platform. Around the inside of the ring of earth was a screen of green branches set up in the ground. Arranged around the fireplace were four poles bearing a tuft of branches at the top; a white pole of cottonwood, a red of box elder, a black of elm, and a yellow of willow. In the ceremony the bundles enumerated above and their keepers had fixed positions according to their rank and the geographical relations of the respective villages. As will be noted in the diagram most of the bundles are upon the north side of the enclosure, these lived on the north side of the Loupe River, the others upon the south side. The positions of the priests of the bundles are shown in the diagram and in the ceremony the bundles are opened before them in order (Fig. 1). 346 631 796

The leading bundles are associated with the four poles, according to the colors as stated in their enumeration. These bundles, poles, colors, etc., 631 778 796

[1] The Evening Star, or red calf bundle (arípahat, red calf) may be called upon in time of need to supplement the powers of a leading bundle. Because of this relation to the four leading bundles it is sometimes called rakatíra (lay across them).

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631 778 796 represent the powers in the four quarters of the world and also stand for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but in no fixed order, the season a bundle represents being determined by the order of the ceremony.

631 773 A brief abstract of the mythical account of the inauguration of this federation may make the foregoing clearer:—

[778] [796]

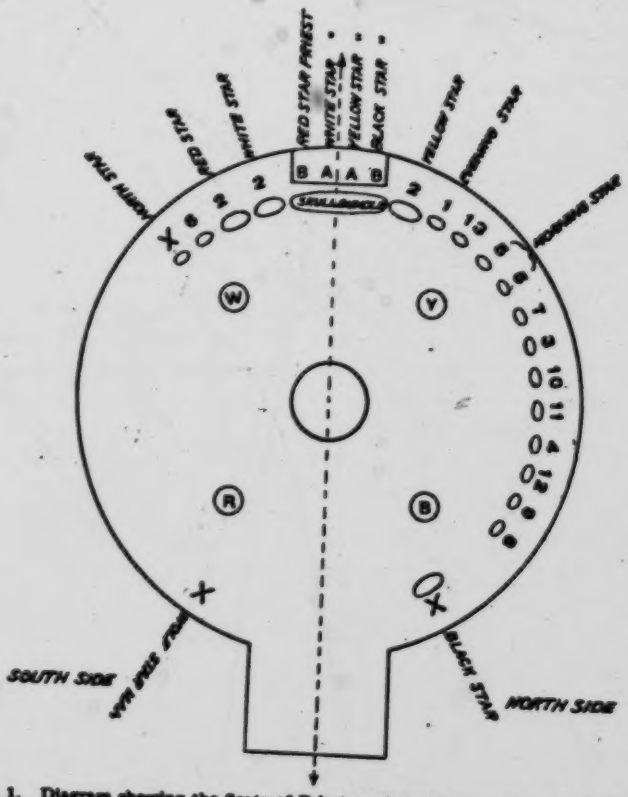

Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Seats of Priests and their Village Bundles, in the Four-pole Ceremony. The numerals are from the table of villages in the text. The places of the four main bundles and the special bundles are designated by their respective names.

Evening Star (Venus) is the keeper of the firesticks which she received when she married Morning Star (Mars). He was the ruling spirit to the east of the milky way. Evening Star was a beautiful woman and very powerful. She was opposed to the creation of the earth and man and had overcome all the stars seeking her in marriage. Supporting her were four great powers, or stars, the Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Wolf. There was also a great serpent group of stars. Morning Star

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overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born. The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth.

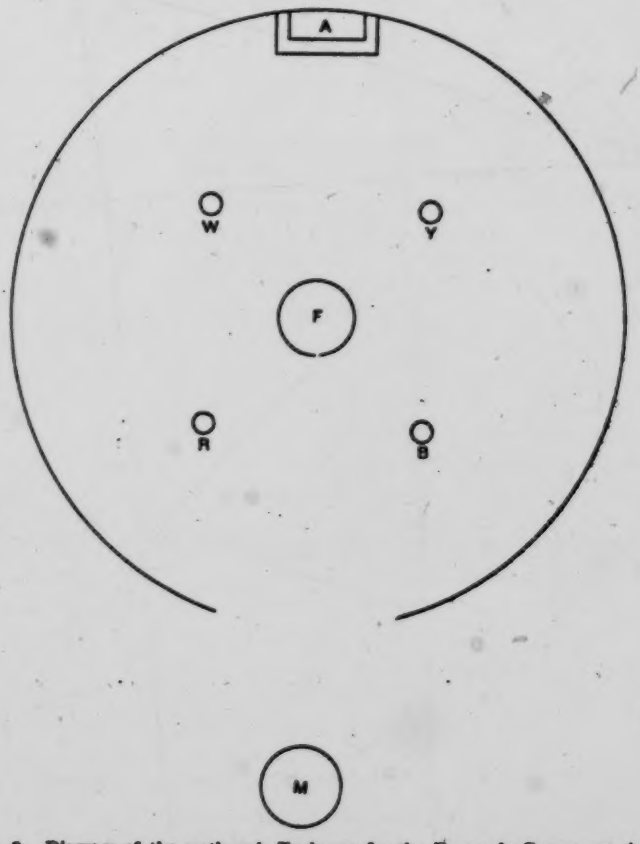

Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

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631 773 gether. So Errand Man was sent out. From each village came the people with their sacred bundle. Errand Man told the chief that upon Elkhorn River he found a village of earth-lodges covered with squash vines in which a bundle ceremony was going on in consequence of which they refused to come. Also on Looking Glass Creek he came to a village where the people had just performed a ceremony to call the buffalo and as the buffalo were at hand, they could not accept the invitation. Most of the buffalo were killed upon the ice which during the day was covered with water. The wolves stood around the carcasses and many were caught by the feet as the ice formed at night. So these two villages did not take part in the general bundle ceremony and were known as the Squash Vine and Wolf-standing-in-the-water.

Those who had assembled now performed the four-pole ceremony. The keeper of the bundle and his priest occupied their regular seats at the back of the lodge and as the bundles of other villages arrived those from the north took seats on that side and those from the south upon the other. The village of the host was then called Center Village.

622 631 The special federation of these Skidí villages necessitated a governing organization different from that of the other divisions. The governing body was a society of chiefs, twelve or more in number. It seems that in principle there was to be one chief for each village bundle, though as such he had nothing to do with the bundle. When the chiefs society met in a lodge they took their seats in the same order as indicated in the diagram of the four-pole ceremony, but the bundles were not brought into the lodge. [202] Two errand men were members and sat by the door.[1] The chiefs were of equal rank and inherited their office. However, there was some selection, for the elderly men filled vacancies from those directly descended from chiefs. All the chiefs taken together constituted the tribal council of the Skidí.

631 793 The chiefs are, however, not the highest authority, that distinction belonging to the priests of the four main bundles. Their office is hereditary; each priest selects an assistant from his near relatives who thus becomes qualified to become priest in turn. In rotation the four leading priests take over the responsibility for the welfare of the people for one year, counting from the first thunder in the spring until fall. This chief priest is the highest authority; he is the source of final appeal and to him all acts of the 224 631 council of chiefs must be referred. The buffalo hunt in particular must be regulated according to the ritual of the bundle whose priest happens 778 793 to be in charge. As noted above, the Red Calf bundle is superior to the leading bundles, but its priest cannot exercise authority except he be

[1] As noted above, two villages refused to join in the federation. Later, they were taken in and their chiefs were given seats in the vacant place on the south side of the lodge, but they were not permitted to enter the four-pole ceremony.

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officially called upon to assume it. As previously noted, there was a curious arrangement in that the keeper of the bundle could be endowed with the power of all four bundles. This we do not fully understand, but in case buffalo should fail, owing to the weak powers of the chief priest, special ceremonies would be performed to pool, or unite, the powers of the four main bundles by temporarily merging their power into the ritual of the Red Calf bundle. This bundle alone contains firesticks; its keeper builds the council fire, and in the old Skidi scheme of villages it belonged to the central village. Its keeper must also be present at the ceremonies of the other four bundles, and in a way he alone can call the whole tribe together. Yet, it is only in times of great trial, that he by special ceremonies becomes the chief priest. It is only when the four leading bundles fail to provide buffalo and the people are starving that the chiefs beg the priest whose bundle is then leader to call upon the calf bundle to lead. The priest gives his consent. Then he fills the sacred pipe with native tobacco and hands the pipe to his chief who goes to the tipi of the calf bundle priest. When the chief enters the tipi he walks to the priest who offers the pipe to him and explains why he has done so. The priest, knowing the wants of the people, receives the pipe. The chief thanks him; lights his pipe and waits. When the chief receives the pipe he returns to the other priests' lodge and returns the pipe, telling him that the other priest had received the pipe. The priest and people are glad. Then the ceremony of transferring power is carried out. It is the belief that the buffalo will then come dashing into the village.

The priests of the four leading bundles and the priest of the Red Calf bundle are thus seen to be important personages. While each of the other bundles has its priest, his function is quite secondary; in fact, he is little more than a custodian, providing the meat and corn necessary to the ceremony. The principle of operation is that the ceremony for each bundle is conducted by one of the five leading priests, i. e., the priest of the Red Calf bundle must always be present, and the conductor is either he or one of the four leading priests, as the ritual may require. Normally all five are expected to be present. There is a partial exception in the Morning Star bundle for in this case the conductor of the ceremony was a special official of the village, not its keeper, but even he was under obligation to call in the calf bundle priest who alone knew the creation rituals, and the two leading rituals for all bundles. In short, with the exception just cited, the calf bundle priest was required to know the ritual of each bundle and if need be conduct each ceremony; the four leading priests were to a less degree required to do the same.

In this connection, it may be noted that the custodianship of a bundle is in the hands of the woman. She cares for it at all times and knows some

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of the important features of the ritual; yet in all ceremonies except that of the four-pole, she is barred from so much as looking inside while the bundle is open. All the men and boys are at liberty to come in and sit with the bundles at their respective villages.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that there is a chief for each village bundle (counting the four leading bundles as one) and he is theoretically at least the custodian, but there is another man in his village who is the keeper of the ritual, or the priest. He conducts the ceremonies. In last resort, he is superior to the chief, especially the priests of the calf bundle and the four leading bundles. Hence, a chief is chief by virtue of his being the custodian of a bundle. This is why the society of chiefs has its seats in the same order as the priests in the four-pole ceremony. It also makes clear the significance of the initial statement that the bundle scheme of the Skidi is the basis of their political and social organization. Likewise, while it is true that the chiefs are all of equal rank, the chief of the four-bundle village who by the way, is attached to the yellow-tipi bundle, sits at the head as may be seen from the diagram for the four-pole ceremony, and so is the leading, or, head chief. He is master of ceremonies, but the chief occupying the seat of Big Black Meteoric Star is the one to conduct all the ritualistic parts of the ceremony.

The Society of Chiefs.

Among the Pitahauirata there was a special organization of chiefs, which had its less formal counterparts among the other divisions. The first part of the society's ceremony is held privately by the members, or chiefs; i. e., those now holding office and men who have descended from deceased chiefs. The membership is strictly hereditary. In the ceremony the leader, or head chief, must wear an old style beaver hat with a red plume. The hat is covered with a dark neck cloth such as was formerly worn by sailors. The meetings are secret and we have no data; but after these ceremonies the women descended from chiefs were called into the lodge. Each woman has to part her hair and tie it back, painting the part red. Woven sashes are worn over the shoulders and wound around for a belt. Many strands of beads are worn around the neck. The men all have the roached hair and wear feathers through the roach, but the young men wear down feathers only. Some wear leggings bordered with scalplocks and eagle feathers, and black moccasins. Each man and woman carries the skin of an eagle. In arranging the places for the women, a line of two abreast is formed: first the two leading men, behind them their sisters or nearest female relatives;

[1] Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, the regulations are the same, except that men must pay a fee to the priests for witnessing a bundle ceremony.

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then two men, and again two of their female relatives, and so on to the end of the line. Before the procession left the lodge two large strong young men were caught in the village, brought in, and the water drums strapped on their backs with one pack strap across the forehead and one across the breast. They then marched out dancing and singing. In leaving the lodge, the procession circles the fire four times and when outside of the door again circles four times. They then march back into the lodge and the women file out and go home, while the men take their seats. The drum bearers are relieved of their burden and sent out, but later they receive a portion of the meat from the feast. After the feast the society disbands.

This society seems to be based upon the bundle of the Pítahauírata village, which is probable considering that chiefs are the leading members. The chiefs painted red with black rings around the face; if yellow, a green circle: these are the two paintings.

The Soldiers or Police.

Each chief selects one elderly warrior as his personal aid and advisor. Only those who have reached a certain high grade of distinction can serve in this capacity. As a body, these aids were known as the braves, rahikuchu. There is thus one brave for each village and he selects three men to act as police under his direction (raripakusu, fighting for order). These are strong and aggressive men. Their function was purely that of village and camp police. Their only badge of office was a special form of club for which in recent years a sword was substituted. The braves and police served for life, unless dismissed for cause. It should be noted, however, that these police had nothing whatever to do with the buffalo hunt.

The Buffalo Hunt.

The general buffalo hunt at whatever season of the year was under the direction of the priest of the leading bundle which happened at that time to be in charge. Preparatory to the hunt a ceremony was held, with the chiefs present, in which the hunt was planned. The priest selected one of the bundle societies to act as soldiers for the hunt. The regular police still exercised their powers in the camp, but the enforcement of all regulations for the hunt and its conduct were in the hands of the selected society. The appointment was for the hunt only. A special lodge was set up for the soldiers in the east part of the camp, near the center were the lodges of the chiefs society and of the priest. The methods of punishment employed by the soldiers were the same as among other tribes.

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THE BUNDLE SOCIETIES.

575 The organizations here discussed differed from the others in that they were regarded as more powerful and in some manner directly connected with or sanctioned by the leading bundles. Membership in all was for life. One could be a member of all of them at the same time. There were no distinctions of age, a man being eligible at any time. The four leaders of each society exercised the right of election of members, though their own places were hereditary, or self-elective. It was also customary for all members to be succeeded at death by a relative. The number of members was not fixed and so the leaders kept watch over the young men to note candidates of promise. Such of these as showed signs of greatness were invited to become candidates. Also the young men of the villages on their part watched the results and prestige of the lance societies and sought membership in the most successful one. A solemn ceremony of installation was performed in which they were subject to tests. If one failed, he was ejected and forever disqualified. For one thing, the candidate must dance about the village an entire day, bearing the lance; should he fall from exhaustion or give up from fatigue, he could not proceed to membership, even though he inherited the place.

The number and distribution of these societies is given in the table. As indicated, their public functions vary, two exclusively for hunting, six for war, and two for either. In time of need the chief may call upon one or more of the war societies to lead in the line of battle or to support the regular camp police in domestic troubles. When setting out upon a buffalo hunt the priest in charge appoints one of the hunting societies to take entire charge of the hunt. So far as we know the priest was free to choose, but practically the choice was restricted to one or two organizations.[1] Although it is the public function and the bundle sanction that distinguishes these societies from the others, the Pawnee do not regard such as the reasons for their existence. They look upon them as clubs or fraternal organizations for the pleasure and elevation of their own members. In a way, they were for war, but this seems due to their having many active brave men among them whose paramount individual interests were war.

In their public performances the societies danced once about the village, pausing before the doors of leading men. This dance was always performed

[1] For an emergency appointment of the young dog society, see p. 587.

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after dressing their lances and after their appointment as police, and thus preceded each general buffalo hunt. 575

After the thunder ceremonies for the bundles and when the grass began to grow, all societies held the ceremonies of renewing lances. In this the lances are made new, the old ones being discarded. In general, four men are appointed to get the materials and make up the lances. When completed, a smoke-offering ceremony is performed to dedicate the lances, which are spoken of as "fathers." This ceremony is followed by a feast. The next day they assemble for the dance, put on their regalia, take up the lances, select the bearers for them, and choose a chief to carry the pipe. The dancing then goes on and finally the chief with the pipe, followed by the

List of Bundle Societies.

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kitkahahki	Squash Vine	Wolf-standing-in-water
Horse society (raris arusa) (h)	×	×	–	–	–	–
Society of Reds (raris pahat) (h)	–	×	×	×	–	–
Society of Brave Raven Lance (raris tarahaksu) (w&h)	×	×	–	–	–	–
Black Heads (pakakatit) (w&h)	–	–	–	×	–	–
Society of Reds (raris pahat) (w)	×	–	–	–	–	×
Thunderbird Society (raris kuhat) (w)	×	–	–	–	×	–
Those Coming Behind (^{h}atu^{h}ka) (w)	×	×	×	×	–	–
Fighting Lance (tirupahe) (w)	–	×	×	×	–	–
Knife-Lance (kichita) (w)	–	–	–	–	–	×
Wolf society (raris skiri) (w)	–	–	–	–	–	×

lance bearers and members, goes out and all form a circle in front of the lodge to dance. Then they go about the village or camp dancing before the lodges of prominent persons to receive presents. After their return to the lodge the lances are put away upon a pole and stood outside by the door. In the ceremony the people are admonished that these lances are to guard over all and so everyone must feel it his duty to protect the lances, though it is expected that the members of the societies give special care to them. Also, they are told that these lances are to bring the buffalo and to protect the people. After four days the feathers are taken from the lance shafts and wrapped up.

In later times a general horseback parade around the camp was made by all the societies jointly, after the renewing ceremonies in the spring. [178]

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575 These were highly decorative and spectacular affairs, but seem to lack ceremonial elements.

The society appointed as soldiers dress up their lances and prepare a horse to bear them. The keepers of the lances always led in the journeys of the camp on the hunt and set up the lances at the places where the soldier lodge was to be. Here they are kept and any person in the camp can take them up when going out to look for buffalo. When going out to take the buffalo, the lance bearers lead and hold the line by the lances, no one being supposed to go in advance. When buffalo are surrounded the lance bearers act as the chief police, see that a fair division of the meat is made, settle disputes, etc. Then while butchering is going on the lance bearers go up to a hill and watch for enemies and are the last to come into camp.

The lances of the bundle societies were the leading ones and of them the crow lances were the last to be renewed and were in a way the highest in [726] rank. When going into battle, bearers of this special lance, must be the very last to retreat. The same is true in counting coup, they must wait until all are through. All the lance bearers must be at the front and may plant their lances in the ground far out in advance; this is a signal for all the members to rally around the standard and stand fast.

[721] The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids but only used to repel or meet a general attack. The seats of members were [616] fixed and arranged around the lodge in two halves, the north and south sides. This corresponds in a way to the bundle scheme as demonstrated in Fig. 1. New members were given seats according to the side of their village bundle. This, of course, applies to the Skidi; the other divisions assigned new members to a side according to the places of their respective ancestors.

The north side conducts, or leads, in the winter ceremonies; the south, the [616] summer. The organization of each side is: a leader or chief, two drummers and singers, one lance bearer, and one errand man, or doorkeeper. There is also a herald who in outdoor ceremonies is mounted. Thus, for a society as a whole the number of officers is double the above.

575 When winter approaches, the societies hold a special ceremony by which
796 the lances are stripped and the dressings wrapped up to remain until the renewing ceremony of the following spring. At the renewing ceremony the old lances are first reassembled but permanently retired when the new ones have been installed. They are not destroyed but kept to place in the graves of great warriors.

575 When the lance is planted before the enemy, the bearer knows that he
726 must stand fast, he cannot take it up except to advance it toward the enemy. Hence, the planting of the lance is really the "no flight" obligation. If, however, the lance is in danger, another member may take it up and carry it out. The bearer may then retire.

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The Two Lance Society.

The following is an account of the ceremonies accompanying the renewal of the lances as observed by the writer, for the raris arusa, literally horse society, but which we shall call the two lance. 575

On May 23, 1902, the Skidi men were called to the tipi of Known-the-leader where the new lances were to be made to replace the old ones which were to pass away with the winter. This was the time for lances to be made because Tirawahat had sent rains upon the earth. The two lances were to be given new life so they might watch over and care for the people. In olden times two brave men were selected by the chief to carry these lances. These were the soldiers who were always obeyed by everyone, for the priest had sanctified and the gods breathed upon them.

The men entered the lodge which faced the east and seated themselves in a circle. Four priests who were drummers sat in the west. Known-the-leader, who acted as high priest, sat at the north. The two chiefs sat one to the north and one to the south of the drummers. Young-hawk whose father had formerly been a lance bearer was at the left of the chief while at his right sat Big-crow whose father had also been a lance carrier. The two men seated on either side of the priests were the lance bearers. Lone-chief, who owned the chief's pipe, sat on the south side and led the dance. Two errand men sat opposite each other at the north and south of the entrance, Skidi-man at the north and Good-eagle at the south.

Known-the-leader addressed the two assistants: "You two go to my lodge and bring the old lances, the four hand drums, and the four buffalo hoof rattles." They brought these and placed them before the singers. Then Skidi-man was sent for the sacred pipe which he placed crosswise in front of the drummers. The old lance staves were brought and set up near a pole that had been staked in the ground and tied, one on the north and one on the south side of the staked pole. Everything being in readiness, Known-the-leader said, "Drummers, chiefs, young and old men, we are about to renew the lances. You may wonder why we change. We have had the old ones many years, but I have dreamed that we must again replace them." [787]

Formerly, it was customary that the lances be kept until the priest dreamed that they be changed. This is the myth given for the lances:— 539 575

Before the creation, the stars were human beings. Certain of them were given great powers. Tirawahat gave stars the power to create all things. When the earth was created, the stars agreed to send Paruxti (the wonder being) to the earth, to see if it were ready to be peopled. The stars held a council, but forgot to invite Fools-wolves (star). (Whenever this star comes up, the wolves howl because they think it is the morningstar.)

Paruxti was sent to the earth in the form of a long-haired giant. He was daubed all over with the sacred red paint. He wore large moccasins with the hair inside and big flaps. Over his shoulders he wore a buffalo robe which covered him completely. Around his waist was tied a buffalo hair rope with several pendant loops at the back which represented rain.

The council caused a thunderstorm which was followed by a rainbow. This they broke in two, placing one half in front and the other behind the giant as a companion. The north star and the south star each furnished a man to carry the

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539 575 rainbow. The evening star provided a bag. The council discussed what these people should take with them. Morningstar said: "I will supply a sacred bundle and I wish eveningstar to contribute someone to carry it and four men to care for it."

[293] [411] [778]

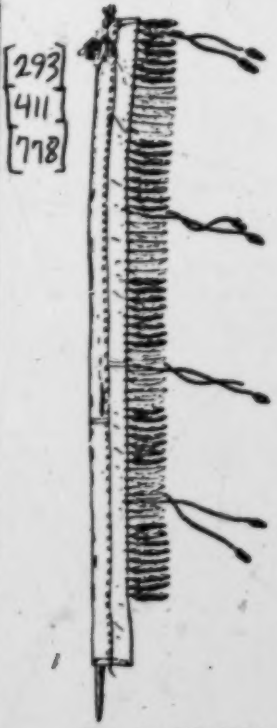

Fig. 3. (50.1–7191). Lance for the Two Lance Society, one of two. The cloth is red, the feathers white (goose) and black (crow). The pendant feathers are crow and the tuft at the top, owl. Length, 2.367 m.

Eveningstar brought an ear of corn which was transformed into a girl, the bearer of the bundle. First the four men were put into the bag, then the girl with the bundle, then people, and finally, the two lance men. The bag was tied so the man could carry it on his back.

It was now time for Paruxti to visit the earth. Eveningstar commanded the four powers in the west, clouds formed, lightning and thunder were placed into the clouds. Paruxti was placed upon the clouds and the wind slowly blew them along towards the earth. Soon the clouds rested on the earth and Paruxti stood upon it. He went towards the east leaving footprints so the gods knew he was on his way.

One time when he was tired and lonesome he remembered what the gods had told him about the bag. He sat down near a stream, placed the bag in front of himself, and opened it. First the two lance bearers, carrying the lances, jumped out. They stopped some distance off, one standing at the south and one at the north side. Soon people sprang out and took their places behind the two lance men. Then came the girl with the sacred bundle on her back. Behind her the four men walked abreast.

The two lance men lead the people to some level ground. They stuck the lances into the ground while the rest of the people put up their tipis. The first one was set up facing east, for the bundle girl and the old men. The bundle was hung up inside the tipi on the west wall. The girl sat beneath it. Two of the old men sat on the north and two on the south side of the tipi. Throughout the village all was bustle and confusion. The boys, young men, and old men were playing with their sticks and rings. For the boys the ring was small and the sticks had two hooks on one end. The sticks used by the older men were hooked at one end and had two cross bars while the ring was smaller than that used by the young boys. The oldest men played with large rings and straight sticks. The women sat in circles and played a game with plum seeds and a basket while others played shafts.

Messengers were sent through the village to call out the men to look for game. The runners notified the people that they had seen many buffalo. The men went out to hunt them and returned with the meat. The first buffalo killed was taken to the holy tipi.

They stayed at this place four days when the holy being told the four old men that it was time to move. Camp was broken and everyone returned to the bag, the two lance bearers last of all.

Again Paruxti went on his way. Several times he opened the bag, camp was pitched. He rested only when the bag was opened. He had traveled far to the east and had returned by the north. 539 575

Fools-wolves, the wolf star, had seen Paruxti on his journey and said, "I will undo what the others wish to do. I will send a being to the earth who will ruin what the others have accomplished." He put a wolf on the earth who became hungry and ran hither and thither until he discovered the tracks of Paruxti which he followed. The wonderful being who had become tired and sleepy, lay down. As he lay there, the wolf came up to him and noticed the bag. He thought, "There must be something to eat in the bag. I will take it away and open it and find something to eat." He dragged it to some prairie where there was neither water nor timber and untied it.

The two lance men jumped out first. Wolf was frightened and jumped sidewise. Soon people came out of the bag and he heard them say that they were going to camp and get something to eat. The two lance men selected a camping place and as usual stuck their lances into the ground. The people played their games, but found no buffalo. The men shouted: "Something is wrong. Our wonderful being must be in an ill humor. Take him something to eat."

Some men carried dried meat to the wolf which he ate. The people marveled at this and did not know what to make of it. The wolf was brought to camp and given a place in the tipi where the wonderful man sat. Just as they were about to burn incense in his honor someone shouted, "Our wonderful being is coming over the hills, crying. Watch the being in our tipi, for he is not our wonderful being." The wolf tried to get away, but the people surrounded the tipi and killed him.

The four men then burned some incense before the wonderful being and anointed him with red ointment, buffalo fat mixed with red earth. All the people were gathered around the tipi and the wonderful being asked what had become of the wolf. They replied, "We killed it." Then Paruxti said, "Bring it and skin it. When the skin is dry, put it on the bundle where it must remain. You will always be known as the skiri (Skidi) or wolf people. Because you killed the first animal on earth you will die too. The gods in the heavens intended that you live forever. You will always have the lances. Those who carry them will be soldiers."

Known-the-leader sent the assistant on the north side to the morningstar bundle tipi for owl feathers which are kept in this bundle and to the left hand bundle tipi for the crow feathers kept in that bundle. When these were brought, the assistant called for one crow feather and one white goose feather from each of the other tipis. These were brought in and piled up in front of the singers by young boys. Near the feathers were placed two strips of red cloth about sixteen inches wide together with buckskin, sinew, and an awl. Two men were selected to procure cedar poles for the lances. Cedar was used because the cedar tree "has life all the time." 575 [237] [824]

When the men arose, Known-the-leader took up one of the drums. The other drummers each took up the drum in front. They sang a song relating to the search for timber. After they sang four times, the drums were set down. Then the men went out with axes to cut the trees. Before actually cutting the poles four cutting motions were made. When the poles were brought in they were placed one at each side of the tipi where the young men sat. They started to cut down the pole, one man on each side, and when these were tired, others took their places. When the poles were cut and smoothed down they were placed crosswise in front of the drums. [533] [313]

The cloth was given to the men on either side who sewed it with buckskin string.

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575 One end was lapped over enough to allow the poles to be passed through. In the middle, the cloth was slashed enough to allow for the bearer's hand. Feathers were also placed before the men who were sewing. They took five crow feathers that were equal in length and cut the quills at the ends. When these were ready one of the men made perforations in the cloth with a sharp stick beginning at the top. Then [237] he placed the quill ends of the feathers in the perforations and tied them with sinew. Five swan feathers were attached in the same way. This was done for the full length of the strip, five crow feathers alternating with five swan feathers.

[821] The men on the north side must complete their cloth first, for the north star watches and cares for them, giving them life and feeding them. The people on the south side worked slowly for the south star is the home of the dead. The owl feathers are bunched together and tied at the top of the cloth because they represent the north star who watches over all at night. Owls care for people while they sleep. In olden [825] times, the owls used to warn the people when the enemy was prowling around the camp. The crow feathers were attached first because crows are always the first to find food and they used to help the people to find buffalo. The swan feathers represent those of the thunderbird which is near Tirawahat, the heavens. If an enemy [821] were on the point of attacking the people, thunderstorms would come up and save them. The red cloth signified bloodshed during war. During battle, if the lance bearer stuck the lance into the ground, it was incumbent upon the people to defend the emblem.

After the cloth was ready, the poles were passed through the flaps, tied to a pole, and stuck in the ground, one at the north and the other at the south side, in front of the drummers.

Now, Known-the-leader said: "Knife-chief, Brave-chief, Running-fox, Young-hawk, old men, and young men, our fathers (the lances) are now complete. Our father, the owl is sitting at the top of the pole. The crow and swan feathers are attached. The lances are complete and have taken life. Let us hasten to notify the gods in the heavens that we have completed these emblems that were given to our people long ago to be carried on the buffalo hunt that there should be order. These insignia were to be carried in battle; in peace they were hung on a pole. The buffalo have disappeared, we no longer fight our enemies, peace rules. The gods know this. They will bless us and give us long life. They will bless our fields so that we may have an abundance of food. It is now time to offer smoke to the gods to show that we remember them. I select Knife-chief to offer smoke to the gods in the heavens. Knife-chief will now rise and take the pipe I have filled."

276 Knife-chief rose and took the pipe which belongs in a sacred bundle. It is very
575 old; the bowl is large; the stem smooth and round and represents the windpipe through which the prayers of the people pass. Knife-chief walked around the fireplace with the pipe, beginning at the south. At the northeast he stopped and the south assistant lighted the pipe with a burning coal. He then walked around the fireplace by the west and then south with the lighted pipe and stopped successively at the south and north entrances and blew smoke in those directions. He next halted at the fireplace and blew smoke on its rim towards the northeast and the northwest. West of the fireplace he stopped and blew smoke southwest and southeast. Then he passed north and stopped at the west facing east. He blew smoke east, west, and then east again. Then he directed smoke towards the heavens; three times to the north, once to the south, faced about and blew smoke west. He turned again and blew towards the ground and the drums.

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The pipe was passed to those on the north and the south sides, each person taking four whiffs. Knife-chief then strewed the ashes from the pipebowl west of the fireplace and facing west passed his hands over the pipestem, then over his own body, and handed the pipe to Known-the-leader who said, "Nawa." All the rest of the people said, "Nawa." This ended the first smoke ceremony. 276 575

Known-the-leader again addressed the assemblage: "Men, old men, and young men, another smoke offering is near. Our fathers are completed and stand before us.

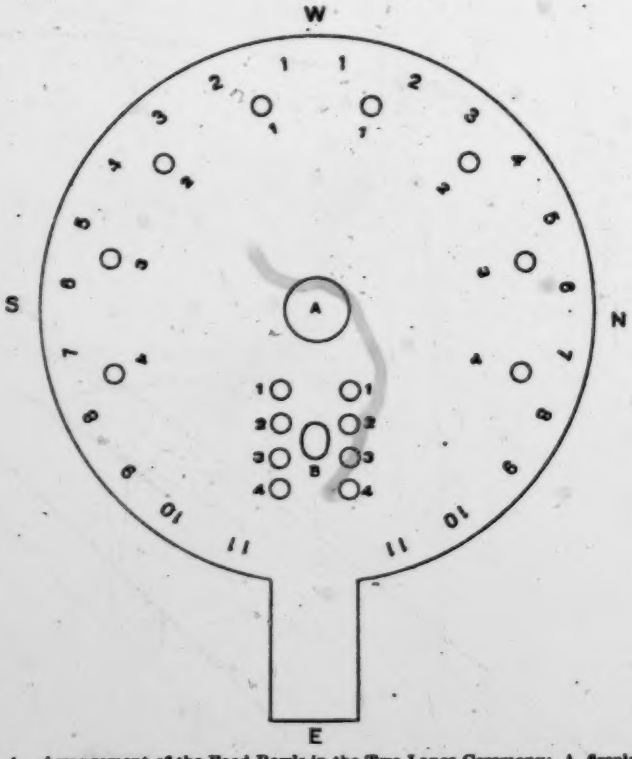

Fig. 4. Arrangement of the Food Bowls in the Two Lance Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, kettle of cooked maize; 1–11, the seats of members; 1–4, the serving bowls in position and as served. This order is followed in most ceremonies.

We must offer them smoke. I have filled this pipe. I have selected Brave-chief to carry on the smoke for he took part in war parties when these two lances were carried."

Brave-chief rose and took up the pipe. In the meantime, Known-the-leader's assistants took up the drums. At this point a song was sung about father owl, one about father crow, one about the thunderbirds, while the last related to the lances. [533]

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Brave-chief walked around the fireplace, stopped at the west facing east, and pointed the pipestem upward. At the same time he took some tobacco from the bowl, raised it, gradually lowered his hand, and finally placed the tobacco in the rim of the fireplace. Then he again pointed the pipe to the rim of the fireplace and placed a pinch of tobacco on it. The first offering was in honor of Tirawahat, the second in honor of the earth. He sat at the northeast of the fireplace. Now the assistant on the north placed a coal on the bowl of the pipe and returned to his place.

Brave-chief walked around the fireplace by the north and stood west of it. Four times he blew smoke to the heavens and four times to the rim of the fireplace. Then he directed smoke upwards towards the north and south lances. He passed around the fireplace by the south, east, and north, and offered the pipe to Known-the-leader who smoked four times; then he moved around by the north, east, and south to the west and Knife-chief smoked four times. The north and south assistants also smoked. Brave-chief emptied the ashes from the pipe west of the fireplace. He touched them with his right hand, made an upward pass, and then touched them with his left hand. Then he walked to the north lance and passed his right hand twice upward over the pipestem and with his left hand touched the ashes and passed it over the stem of the pipe. This was repeated before the south lance.

Finally he stood in front of the singers passing his hand over the pipestem and then over his own body. He returned the pipe to Known-the-leader who said "Nawa" which was repeated by all those present. This ended the smoking ceremony.

Now food was placed east of the fireplace. There was one kettle of corn, a pot

Fig. 5. Pipe for the Two Lance Society. The bowl is of red stone, the stem round, marked with black bands to represent a trachea, which it symbolizes.

of meat, bread, and coffee. The corn was placed near the entrance. Known-the-leader said: "Old men and young men, the corn was given our women by Tirawahat. We were told to offer it to the gods. I select Knife-chief to make the offering, then we will partake of the food."

Known-the-leader gave Knife-chief a buffalo horn spoon with which he ladled out the corn into eight wooden bowls placed there by the two assistants. He placed a spoonful at a time alternately in the north and south bowls until they were all filled. He walked west by the north and standing west of the fireplace raised a spoonful of corn towards the heavens gradually lowering it and finally placing some corn on the rim of the fireplace. Before placing the remainder of the corn he made a pass towards the west with the spoon and then gave it to the south assistant. Four times he placed his hands on the corn on the fireplace and raised them towards the heavens. He walked to the north lance and passed his hands four times upwards on it and then repeated the same motions with the south lance. Then he passed his hands over the drums. Stepping backward and standing erect he passed his hands over his head and then over his body.

Knife-chief took the spoon from the assistant and gave it to Known-the-leader who as he received it said "Nawa" which everyone repeated after him. Then he took up the first bowl on the north side and placed it before the two men on the north

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side and the one on the south side in front of the south men. Then he placed the second bowl from both the north and south sides before the third and fourth men on either side and so on until all the bowls were in front of them and then they ate. The bowls were passed down towards the entrance and what remained was the share of the two assistants. When the corn was all eaten the assistants gathered up the bowls and put them away. Then the meat, bread, and coffee were passed without any ceremony. 276 575

Known-the-leader said, "Men, old men, and young men, our fathers are now complete. Tomorrow we will have the dance. We have made the smoke offering to the gods and they will be thankful. We have also offered our corn to the gods and they will watch over us.[1] We will now prepare to leave this tipi. We have eaten and smoked."

This ends the ceremony for the making of the lances.

The regalia are two lances, four rattles, and four hand drums (Fig. 3). There is also a special pipe as shown in the sketch, Fig. 5. The four singers wore foxskin caps and painted their faces white, marking down with the fingers. The members have no fixed painting, being permitted to follow their fancy. Formerly, they danced nude and carried weapons at their pleasure. The mode of dancing through the village and conducting the buffalo hunt has been described, these procedures being the same for each society. 575 [293] [302]

As noted in the table the Chauí also had this society, though with them it was of minor importance. There were also small differences in the arrangement of the feathers on the lance.

The Skidí Red Lance Society.

The raríspahat, red lance or otter lance society among the Skidí had two lances as shown in the sketch. Here the one for the north side of the lodge was wrapped with dark otter fur, the one for the south side with reddish fur. The leader had a pipe, there were four rattles and four hand drums. The renewing of the lances and other ceremonies were as described for the bundle societies in general. This society does not occur elsewhere except in the Wolf-standing-in-water village, but here there is but one lance and the stone on the bowstring is wanting. There were probably important differences in the ritual but there are no data available. [293]

This society was almost never called upon to act as hunting police, but was often called upon to lead in war. It will be noted that the lances, in contrast to those of the preceding, carry real spear points. Their power [721]

[1] The smoke and food offerings have practically the same form in all ceremonies.

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575 was supposed to give protection in battles. The otter wrapped on the pole could also be used to call upon the powers to send rain to the earth. The two stones on the strings of the lances are to symbolise two powers or stars in the east on each side of the sun, the white for the one on the north side of the sun and the red for the one on the south side. By this, the members of the society know that they are under the protection of the two powers in the sky. If the people have a battle and win, the scalps and other trophies [727] are given to this society which then conducts the victory dance, carrying the

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

[411] Fig. 6. The Skidi Red Society Lance. The war point is of iron rising from a tuft of owl feathers between a tuft of eagle feathers. On the string to the crook is a red stone. The pendant feathers are eagle. The shaft is wrapped with otter fur; dark for the north side lance, reddish for the south. The grip is wrapped with bear gut.

[237] Fig. 7. The Red Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a buffalo tail at the tip of the crook and also hung from strings at the sides; the grip of one lance is wrapped with red strouding and the other with black. These are the colors of the south and north sides respectively.

lances in the dance. As the dance proceeds the women take charge, even carrying the lances. The only men remaining in the dance are the four drummers.

575 625 224 Perhaps the most important point is that this society is chosen to act as police of a military procedure, or man hunt, in the same way as the preceding society was chosen for the buffalo hunt. When the camp moves

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out to the buffalo hunt, this society having renewed its lances, takes them out on a horse as previously noted. They are thus ready for the society to act in case of attack. In such a case, if the regular bearers are not present, any member or anyone in fact, is expected to lay hold and act as bearer. To facilitate this, the lances are placed against a pole outside the society tent. If, however, a bearer fails to put in an appearance or shirks his duty in any way he can be reprimanded or even expelled. The volunteer bearer will be permitted to dance with the lance in future ceremonies, in contrast to the preceding society where only the descendants of lance bearers were allowed to enter the dance. As stated, the lances were expected always to head the line in battle.

As winter approached these lances were dismantled and put away until the renewing ceremony of spring. Each member makes it his business to hunt for an otter and when one is caught takes it to the leader who skins it with a special ceremony. His wife then dresses the skin and cares for it until the time for renewing the lance in the spring.

The Red Lance Society.

Among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kaháxki divisions there were organizations known as the raris pahat, but differing from the Skidí society of that name. The two lances were wrapped with swans' down. These societies were all considered as derived from and sanctioned by the bundle of the Pítahauírata. This bundle controlled the ceremonies in that division and hence all but the public dancing in the camp was secret. Only the descendants of chiefs could be members. In the two sides of the organization, the chiefs sat upon the north side and the warriors upon the south. The lance for the north side was trimmed in black feathers, that for the south in white. The members painted in corresponding colors in the dance, but carried such weapons as they chose. When dancing, a rattle bearer faces the lance bearer of the opposite side and in the evolutions they pass each other. Water drums are used and in the dance around the village two boys are appointed to bear these upon their backs. The pipe of the society was originally that belonging to the bundle, but later a special pipe was provided.

Fig. 8. Rattle for the Skidí Red Lance, one of four. The bulb is of rawhide, the feathers are eagle.

It will be noted that the lance of this society bears no point and is not

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575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidí two lance society.

The Thunderbird Lance.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidí and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidí.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan, though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked, leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act [721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed [821] [823] to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found wherever the lightning strikes. Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

The Crow Lance.

The hatu^{h}ka society was found among each of the four divisions but not in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the [184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidí alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidí: —

575 773 The name usually given this society is hatu^{h}ka (those coming behind), so named because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

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was derived from blackbirds, the kind that feed around grazing horses and buffalo. 575
A long time ago a hunter was walking along a ravine. Presently he heard war cries 773
and shouting. He was badly scared and ran, but the cries still pursued him.
Becoming tired, he took his stand, bow in hand, for the enemy seemed near, singing
and shouting. Finally, they came up. He heard one division going on one side of
him, another on the opposite side, and stood ready to shoot down the first man to
appear. But as they passed by he saw only flocks of crows, blackbirds, and packs of
wolves. He saw no human beings among them. Yet he sat down and watched
because he felt sure that they were human and that they had a lance among them.

He noticed that the birds came together as also did the wolves. The birds flew upward in a circle and then took a position resembling a lance, so the man thought. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of a blackbird. In his dream the blackbird told him that all that had happened was merely a test of his bravery. At first, he had appeared cowardly, but finally proved his courage. The birds and animals had decided to give him a lance with which he could originate the hatu^{h}ka society. The birds would teach him the songs, but there would be no dancing. The lance was to be of ash, hooked at the end, and wrapped with the tanned skin of a bull calf. Crow feathers which the birds would give him were to be attached at intervals, while the whole was to be daubed with white clay. The blackbird said that the man would obtain a medicine root for the use of the society. When painting, only soot was to be used. Thus, in his dream he was taught all the details of the regalia and practices of the hatu^{h}ka society.

When the man awoke he proceeded to the place where he had seen a tall weed which he took to be the medicine promised him. Here he gathered up the crow feathers which he took home. He did not tell the people of his vision on the plains. Instead, he wrapped the feathers and the medicine root in a piece of tanned buffalo hide which he tied to one of the lodge poles on the inside. At night he filled his pipe; first he gave a whiff to Tirawahat, a few whiffs to the birds, and then smoked nonceremonially.

That night he dreamed again. He saw a line of singing men all daubed with soot. They were strung along a buffalo rope drawn through their belts. When he awoke he sang a peculiar song which aroused the curiosity of the other people. Again and again he dreamed of the same men and each time learned a new song. One time he sat in his lodge singing the songs he had learned and was joined by another man who learned them from him. They in turn were joined by others from time to time.

When quite a number knew the songs, the man told them his dream experiences and announced his intention of organizing the society about which he had dreamed. He told them it would be difficult, as evidenced by the songs they already knew; that bravery was necessary; that they should know no fear of death; and that they were to act as protectors of the tribe. In their ceremonies, two rattles were [534]
to be used. Drums were not permitted. Each member had a quiver with bow and arrows slung over his shoulder.

The society owned a buffalo hide rope. Each member was compelled to provide 575
a crow feather for the lance so that it would have a claim upon his bravery. The lance had to be covered with tanned buffalo calf skin.

The members of the society did not act as soldiers. Instead they were strung together in battle and marched in the rear of the tribe on all occasions.

While on a buffalo hunt they procured all the necessary paraphernalia. On their return to the village the new members met at the originator's lodge to sing the songs

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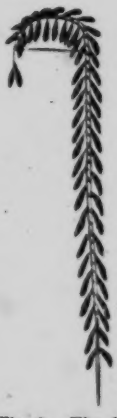
575 and select men to make the lance and the rope. Soon other young men joined them and they too had to go through all the preliminaries before they could be strung along the rope. When a new member was initiated, he was strung with the old ones, each member wearing his quiver, bow and arrows over his right shoulder. At first there were but few members and consequently few feathers on the lance. These were attached only to the hook.



[789]

Fig. 9. The Crow Lance. The shaft is wrapped with buffalo skin to which crow feathers are fastened.

They all sang their songs and during a certain time when they were taking young men into their society they imitated an attack upon the enemy. Those who were cowardly usually stood still during these maneuvers because of the chafing rope. Then the proceedings were halted and the cowardly one sent out of the lodge. During their meetings, one day was set aside on which the society paraded through the village.

The lance was tied to a tent pole and set outside of the lodge until the day of the parade through the village. The night before, all the members gathered in the lodge and sang their songs. Then the leader gave each member a portion of the medicine root telling him that it would make him brave. He taught them to chew the medicine root and mix it with the soot and daub it over their bodies, particularly their faces. This medicine was to protect them from bullets and arrows.

Now, everything was in readiness. Early the next morning the members mixed the medicine root and soot, daubing it first on their faces and then their bodies. Then each man placed his quiver over his right shoulder. They stood abreast and the buffalo skin rope was passed through each man's belt. The rope was fastened around the waists of the men at either end of the line. When all their preparations had been completed, they commenced their songs, meanwhile performing various evolutions during which the rope tightened and wound itself around the singers.

Any member who gave signs of discomfort or pain was dismissed, but those who disregarded their suffering remained. After this, they stood in line facing east. Then they marched out of the lodge, the leader stopping at the south side followed by the others all facing east. The lance bearer was about a yard in advance of the others. After singing four songs while standing in this position, they proceeded. They gave no heed to any obstacles in their path. If they happened to come to a mud-lodge they halted and sang until the relatives (aunts) of the men singing would come out and spread buffalo robes under the feet of their kin. They did not move until one of the women came forward and said: "Men move to one side; I will give you dried meat and a pot of corn." Then they would turn aside and continue through the village, stopping only at the lodges of chiefs.

On their return to their own lodge the rope was taken off and they all took their respective places. The leader filled a pipe, lighted it with a live coal and blew smoke four times towards the lance which was staked in front of the singers. Twice he blew smoke downward and twice upward. Then he placed the ashes near the lance and passed his hands up and down over it twice and sat down.

Two assistants then brought in kettles of food and placed them between the entrance and the fireplace. The leader now gave them permission to eat. He rose,

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dipped a horn spoon into the corn and placed the food near the lance. He made four passes with his hands towards the lance, then he placed the corn upon the rim of the fireplace, on the west side. He then took a piece of fat to the pile of corn, placed the fat on the corn, greased his hands and then made four passes over the lance with his hands. Then he handed the horn spoon to one of the men, who said, "Nawa." They ate and were dismissed. 575

During the buffalo hunt it was customary for this society to follow at the rear of the procession. These men were once overtaken by the enemy. Their first act was to string the buffalo rope through their belts and thus they fought. When one of their number was killed, he was dragged around as the others fought. Eventually they were all killed. The society was never again reorganized. [726]

Once a man had a lance made as he wished to start the society again. A young man took it and went to hunt buffalo. He was attacked by the enemy, killed, and the lance taken away from him. Since then, the lance was never made and was considered an evil omen. [787]

The Brave Raven Society.

This is the important society among the Chauí and seems to have had a double function in that its emblem could lead the hunt as well as the line of battle. Among the Skidí it was a minor organization. The origin of this society is an integral part of the ritual for the leading Chauí bundle of which the head chief is the keeper but not the priest. This bundle is in two parts, or two bundles. The main bundle contained the ceremonial objects and was directly associated with the ritual; the secondary bundle contained the skins and feathers of birds. When a boy kills his first bird with an arrow, he naturally runs with it to his father. The father may then take his boy by the hand and lead him to the priest of the bundle, to whom the dead bird is presented. The priest thanks the boy and blesses him, after which the father and son go home. [224] [852]

After formally notifying the chief, or keeper of the bundle, the priest prepares the skin of the bird and puts it up to dry for four days. Then he takes it in and ceremoniously places it in the bundle, taking care to be able to identify it later.

During the autumn hunt the leader of the brave society notifies the members that the time has come for the gathering of sinew and the reserving of dried meat for the lance-renewing ceremony in the spring. Twelve volunteers are secured for this service. Each kills a buffalo and removes the sinew from the shoulders and back which is then dried and carefully packed away.

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575 Now, during the hunt, the father of the boy killing the bird, may recall the incident and vow to consecrate a buffalo in the name of his son. Accordingly, when the buffalo is killed, he butchers, and packs it on the horse according to the requirements of the ritual. He leads the horse home, places the rope in the boy's hand and again conducts him to the priest. The father announces his errand and delivers the meat. The priest then performs the proper ceremony.

Fig. 10. The Brave Raven Lance. At the end of the crook is the skin of a crow, the beak hanging down. All the feathers are crow.

Some time during the winter the keeper of the lance goes out and cuts an ash stick for the new lance. This he works down to the proper form and puts up in the lodge to season.

Now, the father of the boy may ask for a crow feather, upon which the boy sets out and either kills a crow or finds a feather. His father directs him to take it to the priest. The latter again opens the secondary bundle and ties the feather to the boy's birdskin offering. This accumulation of crow feathers may continue for several years.

As the time for renewing the lances approaches, the twelve men collecting sinew are called into the leader's lodge, and arrangements for the ceremony made. The next day the lodge is cleared out and the store of sinew and dried meat brought in. Twelve additional members are called to assist. All are seated in the regular order. After certain preliminaries, the leader explains [283] that the sinew cord for the lance is to be made. He then takes up sinew and proceeds to roll a cord upon his thigh. As it increases in length the ends are taken by his neighbors who twist in turn and so on until both ends of the line are reached. There is now one long cord passing entirely round the lodge. When completed the errand men stretch it about the lodge posts to dry.

Next the leader calls for the crow feather. Then each member who has crow feathers in the bundle brings them in and also those that have been placed there by their sons. All these feathers are placed upon a mat before the leader. Then the two errand men take down the sinew cord and make it into a coil. The leader takes the coil and gives one end of the cord to his left hand and the others to his right hand neighbor, and so the ends are passed along, unwinding the cord. Then the leader lectures, stating that there are three main things in life, to consecrate an eagle, a scalp, and a buffalo, that following such acts one will be anointed by the priest, that

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when one ties his feather to the cord, he is binding up his future, for each must tie his own, if it is poorly done and drops off, so will be his career. In addition this lecture is usually a general sermon upon the ethical ideals of the society. Each man should add one feather for each time he helped dress the lance, or for each year of his membership. Each feather symbolically represented a part of the owner's life which he tied, or joined, to the fortunes of the lance.

In tying a feather, each member is permitted to use but three knots. The leader ties first and then each member in succession on the two sides. The two errand men are last, holding the ends; these they return to the leader and then take up the ends once more, thus making a four-strand cord. This is placed outside upon a pole and food is brought in for a feast.

On the third day the cord is taken down and the ceremonial dressing of the new lance performed. The new staff is brought in and set up before the leader, who at the proper time ties one end of the cord to the tip of the staff and winds it on spirally, covering almost the entire length. All this time the old lance has been standing before the leader, but now it is dismantled and disposed of as before stated. The new one is then set up in its place and properly installed. The day's proceedings are again closed by a feast.

The most spectacular part of the ceremony occurs on the fourth day. During the night the lance is supported upon a pole as before. Early in the morning the members assemble. The leader paints his entire body with soot and marks down with the fingers. He then takes up the feather bustle, or belt, stating that this thing is to be shown to the powers in the heavens and that no enemy may enter, he must circle the village with it; also that his running through the village will drive away sickness, improve the corn crop, and increase the buffalo. After this lecture, two men begin to sing and beat upon the water drums, the leader dances circling the fire four times, then passes out at the door. Once outside he runs north until outside the village, then runs around until by a spiral course he is again brought back to the door, thus traversing all parts of the village. As he enters, he gives three crow calls, two men spring up, catch him, take the lance and put him in his seat.

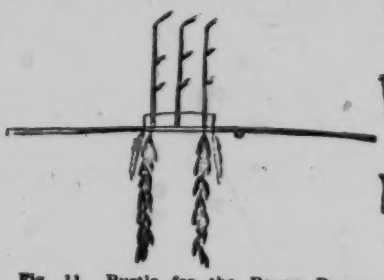

Fig. 11. Bustle for the Raven Braves. The uprights are sticks wrapped with porcupine quills and tufted with horse hair. The belt is of buffalo hide and bears a few sleigh bells. The pendants are wolf tails and strings of crow feathers.

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[302] All this time the members have been singing in the lodge but now they paint black also and prepare such arms as they wish to carry. The chief of the village then enters with the pipe from the bundle and starts the dance. First they are lead outside where they dance before their own lodge, then passing out at the north side march around the village once. Then they come into the village and dance before the lodges of the leading men. (As before, two boys are brought in to carry the water drum.) In each case the host comes out with a pipe which is passed to the lance bearer and the singers, but no presents are given. Finally, they dance before their own lodge and enter. A feast and certain smoke offerings to the lance close the ceremony.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 13.

[411] Fig. 12. The Fighting Lance. The point is of iron, nested in owl and eagle feathers; the shaft wrapped with swanskin, small eagle feathers hang at the sides. The grip of the south side lance is of red strouding; that of the north, of black.

Fig. 13. The Wolf Lance. The point is of iron, the shaft wrapped with wolfskin, a bunch of owl feathers at the top, large and small eagle feathers at the sides, the grip near the lower end and two wolf tails below. Two of these are carried.

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[648] As this was the leading society of the Chauí and the United States formally recognized the Chauí chief as the head of all the Pawnee, it came to have a certain precedence in all functions.

The Fighting Lance.

The tirupahe society is found among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and Kit'kahárki. It is a war society as may be seen by its pointed lance.

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The lance for the north side was black and for the south, white. There were two rattle bearers who stood and danced as in the preceding. There were four singers and two water drums. Their war duties were as previously stated. This society was composed of chiefs and warriors, on different sides. At stated times, the members demonstrated their deeds, trophies, and war medicines. [575] [701]

It seems that there were three bundles in the Pítahauírata division at one time and the three feathers on the lance are supposed to be one for each. The members were members of the chiefs society, warriors and men who had consecrated eagles; hence the small eagle feathers are put on the lance. In the consecrating of eagles the heads are strung through the nose with sinew, all the members having gone through this ceremony; hence the string here symbolizes the consecration but it is not known if the hooked part of the lance is the eagle's head. The pipe of this society is borrowed from the warrior's bundle. [778]

So far as known, the organizations in the three divisions were identical.

The Wolf Lance.

The rarisits skiri^{h}ki^{h} (society of wolves) was peculiar to the Wolf-standing-in-water village. There were two lances, four flat hand drums painted white, four singers wearing caps of wolfskin like roaches, four rattles (two for each side). All members painted white. The pipe bearer who sat in front of the four singers painted red, however. The lance bearers sat among the dancers, but the lances rested against the lodge posts. There was no regular dance evolution, each one going as he pleased. The old men and one messenger were on each side. [302] [535]

There were two war shields covered with wolfskin for each side. For each shield there was a bearer. It was a war organization and differed from the others in that as an organization it could go to war. The lances were left at home, however. So far as known they never acted as police of the hunt, but the members seem to have had the right to take the lances of the hunting society and scout for buffalo. [701]

The lodge of this society had its door toward the west instead of east. [345]

The Black Heads.

The pakskatit society was peculiar to the Kit'kahákxki division. They seem to have been important for they could act both as police of the buffalo hunt and in the line of battle. While there were two sides as before, there [224] [701]

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575 was but one lance wrapped with swanskin. Each member wore a large tuft of crow feathers, hence the name. There were no rattles, but two water drums, four singers, and pipe men. The members painted white.

The Knife Lance.

The kichita was found among the Chauí, Pítahauírata, and the Kit'-kahá́xki. Its function was on the line of battle and not concerned with the

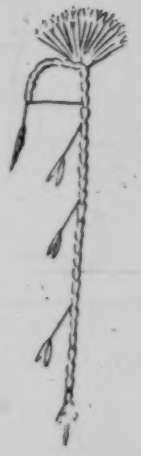

Fig. 14.

Fig. 15.

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Fig. 14. The Black Head Lance. The shaft is wrapped with swanskin, a crown of raven feathers, a buffalo tail at the end of the crook, crow feathers at the sides, bear gut grip at the bottom. The headgear of the society is similar to the crown above.

Fig. 15. The Knife Lance. The point is of iron nested in owl and eagle wing feathers, the shaft is trimmed with alternating squares of red and black strouding, a fringe of crow feathers to the red sections, goose feathers to the black; two eagle tail feathers hang from the top. The only difference in the two lances is that the order of colors is reversed in the second. Red was the color for the south side, black for the north.

hunt. There were two lances as shown in the drawing, decorated with cloth. The colored sections were reversed in order on the second lance. In painting the north side men were black and the south, red. There were four rattles, fringed with crow and swan feathers, four hand drums, and four singers. In the dance, two rattle bearers faced the lance bearers with the usual evolutions, while the other pair of rattle bearers stayed with the singers. In membership the chiefs constituted one side and warriors the other.

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PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS.

These organizations may be said to have been rivals or imitators of the recognized or authorized societies. In the villages were at all times many ambitious men unable to attain membership in the regular organizations. When a man felt he had a call to organize a new society, i. e., had the necessary visions or dreams, he had no difficulty in securing a following. Naturally, these organizations have no public functions nor official recognitions; yet in time of need they might render service that would give them social prestige. As individuals, or even as volunteer organizations, they could carry their standards to the line of battle and win renown. In many cases, however, they were short-lived, since it was only the personality and enthusiasm of the leaders that held them together. A great misfortune or disaster was almost certain to end the organization.

The tabulated list gives the names and distribution of all the organizations for which data are available. No doubt there were others that have been forgotten.

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kitkahahki
Crazy Dog (asichakahuru)	×	×	×	×
Children of Iruska (iruska ipirau)	×	–	–	–
Wonderful Ravens (kaka waruxti)	×	×	×	×
Big Horse (raris aruskutchu)	–	×	–	–
Crows (raris kaka)	×	–	–	×
Roached Heads (pakspa hukasa)	×	–	–	–
Young Dog (asa kipiriru)	×	–	–	×
The Circumcised	–	×	–	–

THE CRAZY DOG SOCIETY.

A society found in all divisions was the asichakahuru, or crazy dog society. The members were men of any age. In organization they had the usual north and south sides. There were four singers or drummers,

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575 two for each side. The pipe-man is the chief, but there is another man who is charged with directing the ritual. All members carry ring-shaped rattles, and certain members carry short lances bearing feathers. As to the number of these lances, we have no data. The members danced nude and tied [292] a string to the foreskin to the end of which feathers were attached. (See Catlin's drawings of the Okipa.) On this account they were sometimes called the "tied-penis society." It is said that in battle some of the mem- [726] bers would take a stake and a rope, plant the stake before the enemy and tie the penis string to the rope. They were forbidden to release themselves and must then stand fast until released.

As to adornment and body painting each man did as he chose. Four hand drums were used.

There were no renewal ceremonies but this society would usually dance [535] in public after the bundle societies had made their appearance. In dancing they formed in front of their lodge in a circle. There were two mounted men to call out their own deeds and encourage others to do likewise. In one part of the dance the horsemen ride among the dancers back and forth (p. 387). Also, there were two whip men, carrying green switches with which to whip up the dancers. If a member enters the ceremony wearing clothes [292] he is set upon by these whip bearers and his clothes torn to pieces. Only the members who captured a blanket or cut the covering from a captured bundle, could take a hand in this. However, if a member has been in a battle and saved his robe, he may carry it folded under his arm.

In the dance a dancer may remove his moccasins and put them on an old [888] needy bystander.

Children of the Iruska.

In this organization there were but six or seven members. They carried quivers full of arrows which were very highly prized, so when an arrow was shot they went to hunt it. They were known as saaro, youths.

They did things by contraries. If a woman said, "Do not get water," [524] they went after it. They were given to playing the wheel game and because of their peculiarities no one played with them. If an enemy attacked the village, the members would continue to play the wheel game and pay no attention to the fighting. If a person came up and said, "Do not go out to [302] fight," they rushed out at once. They were always painted black as if ready to fight. On the head each wore the skin of a blackbird. The society is said to have been handed down by this bird. The leader so appointed by the bird went through the camp and selected boys who seemed queer, or even insane. These he organized into a society.

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They did not go into a fight until they were told not to; then they simply shot their arrows toward the enemy without taking much aim and then went to get them; or in other words, an idiotic performance. At all times of their lives they did things in reverse order. They never married or had anything to do with women. Whenever strange or mysterious animals were reported which were feared by other people, they would try to kill them. It is said that the society became extinct by all being killed in a battle except one, who afterwards disappeared. There are, however, several different stories as to how they were destroyed. 575

The Wonderful Ravens.

This society of the kaka waruxti, or wonderful ravens, had two undressed lances except for a crowskin hanging near the point. All members, except the pipe-bearer, had the skins of crows upon their backs. All painted black. The founder got the ritual and powers from a raven. There were four singers but no rattle bearers. Their chief function was to be ready for war; they wore the crow because this bird is known to be wary and hence it was believed that the society could foretell attacks. When attacks were predicted the society placed their lances outside against a pole. This was a public warning that precautions should be taken. [302] [825] [787]

The society had a brief existence, as most of them were once killed in battle, the remnants failing to reorganize.

The Big Horse Society.

Among the Chauí there was once an organization known as raris aruskutchu, big horse society. Many of the members bore plain long sticks and all wore caps of foxskin and painted themselves white. There were no drums, but eight singers who beat upon a piece of rawhide with sticks instead of drums. The society was for war, but took the warpath for private forays and never acted as soldiers in any capacity. They became extinct by the loss of most of their members in an engagement. [302]

Society of Crows.

The raris kaka, society of crows, was a lance society. They had two lances with war points and at four places on the shaft a string bearing crow feathers was tied. The members painted black but only on the joints of the body. [302]

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575 They had ceremonies in the spring to get their regalia ready for war. There was one old man in the order who wore a special cap made of crowskin.
[103] Members who had counted just one coup could wear a horizontal feather through the scalplock; for the second coup another feather in the same direction but from the opposite side; three coups, one crow feather upright; four coups, four feathers fixed on a small pointed stick, and stuck in the head. If one took but part of a scalp, he split one of the feathers half way; if a whole scalp, the whole feather was split. For each scalp taken a feather was split.

As the number of coups and scalps increased, feathers were added to a string and hung on the head. They also painted hands and other deed marks on their bodies.

This organization also had a brief existence, becoming extinct through losses in battle.

The Roached Heads.

The pakspahukasa, or roached heads, were peculiar to the Skidí. They
[302] were also known as the fox society. They had a peculiar hair cut in that the hair on the back of the head was cut off, leaving only the roach on the top. All must wear coats of blue or red strouding cloth, feathers on the seams of shoulders and sleeves. They wore buckskin leggings and any kind of dress moccasins. All had small rattles, decorated with strands of different colored ribbons. No fixed form of face painting was used. Some of them wore beaded caps. Four hand drums were used, two red and two white. This was a war society and the songs refer to disregard of death.

Young Dog Society.

539 Among the Skidí there was a society known as the asa kipi riru, or
575 young dogs. The story of their origin is as follows: —

When the Skidí village was west of Fullerton, Nebraska, an old man lived there alone in his mud-lodge. He was very fond of the old dogs which the Skidí had used as pack animals. They lived with him and shared his food. During the buffalo hunt the dogs carried things for him. One time after returning from the hunt some puppies were born. The man was pleased, for he had no children. Every day he made a fresh bed for them and fed them.

The rest of the people remarked on his care of the dogs. One night, some boys planned to kill the old dog and steal the young ones. The next day they watched and finally caught the old dog outside the village and killed it. During the night they stole some of the puppies, but left four males. The following day, the man searched for the mother and the puppies but in vain. He fed the others as well as he could and sat sadly at his fireplace.

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As he sat there, a boy he did not know came in and said, "Some boys killed your dog." After feeding the dogs the next day, he went to hunt for their mother. He found the body and buried it. On his return he made a bed for the young ones near his own and fed and cared for them as though they were his own children. They began to grow and the man was very happy. 539 575

One night he dreamed that the mother dog had advised him to go away from his own people. He decided to move and went south to the Platte River where he camped. He hunted every day and on his return his first care was to feed the dogs. After a time he moved on, camping at different places. Meanwhile the dogs grew up.

In camp one night the man heard singing from afar and took it to be an approaching enemy. The song was unfamiliar and it appeared as if several people were singing. He rose and went to the puppies, but they had disappeared. He went back to his bed and lay down afraid to move. He lay still for a long time listening, when the singing suddenly ceased at the entrance to his lodge. When all was quiet he crawled over to look for the dogs and found them. After this, when he heard the singing during the night he was not disturbed for he knew it was his puppies that were singing. Several nights the singing was repeated so the man soon learned the song which was an imitation of a dog howling: Ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-o ha-oa hey-i-i a-a hi-o-a ha-o-a ha-o-a-ha-o-a hoa hi-i-i-i. At the close of the song each time the dogs would return to the lodge. The man then returned to the village.

Soon after this, the people left the village and went on a hunt. Each time they made camp the singing was heard during the night. The people wondered who sang, for the song was unknown to them. This occurred every night until they returned to their village.

As soon as the man and his wife entered their lodge they swept it and made a bed for the dogs. For a time no singing was heard, but one night it recommenced and as it came nearer and nearer it seemed as if there were more men. The singing seemed to be right in the lodge passing around the fireplace.

The man rose and made a fire. He saw a circle of men standing around it, all covered with red paint. Some of them had rawhide ropes around their shoulders. The man returned to his bed. The singers began again; this time they were dancing, keeping time to the song. After some time they passed out of the lodge. The fire died down and the dogs returned to the lodge whining.

The man slept again and dreamed of the dancers just as he had seen them earlier in the night. Some stooped over and circled around, whining in imitation of dogs as they danced. At the end of the dance one of the men who seemed to be the leader said, "My father, you have been good to us and our people (the dogs). They have decided to give you a new dance. For the next three days you must have the lodge swept for we will continue the dance until the third night. We have already danced one night. You must borrow the four water drums from the medicinemen and place them at the altar. It is to your advantage to watch us and listen carefully." Then the man in his dream saw the men transformed into dogs which surrounded him, licking his mouth and nose. This frightened him.

Early the next day the man and his wife swept the lodge for all the dogs had left it. He placed some branches of cedar on the fire for incense. The dogs' beds were swept and cleaned. Towards evening the man procured the water drums from the medicineman and placed them at the altar. Everything was now in readiness. In the evening the man told his wife to take dried meat from the parfleches, cut it, and let it boil in the kettle on the fire. Then he told her to lie on her bed while he sat at the fire smoking.

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539 575 During the day the dogs had disappeared but when darkness fell the man heard the singing again. At first it seemed outside the village, then it came closer, and finally stopped at the doorway. The man sat on his bed. The singers filed in and sat in a circle around the fireplace. Now, four old men entered and sat in front of the drums. One of them said, "Old men dogs at the altar and young dogs around the fireplace, we will now sing and dance." The old men drummed and sang and the others danced. The dancers were daubed all over with red paint. The man watched the dancers who were fine-looking men and learned the songs. They danced until the fire burned down and then quietly left the lodge. This was the second night they danced.

The man filled and lighted his pipe and before he smoked, blew smoke four times each to the skies, to Tirawahat, and to the altar. The dogs now came in whining and went to bed. The man knew when they returned and emptied his pipe and went to bed. As soon as he closed his eyes he fell into a trance and saw an old man standing near his bed. He wore no clothes but was painted all over with red paint. The old man said to him, "My son, I will take you to a far country and show you the father of the dog family. It is through him that the whole dog family has pity for you because of your kindness to the dogs. Come with me."

The man thought that he rose and walked out of the lodge with the stranger. They seemed to be traveling in space over a wide river. When they landed he saw that he was in a strange land. They arrived at a mud-lodge and the stranger told the man that they were about to enter the lodge of Tirawahat. He told him to notice everything and that certain things would be given him. They entered and he immediately noticed a large fire in the center of the lodge. West of the fireplace was a dark object, a large golden eagle, from which came sparks of fire. On its right sat a large dog. The two men sat down at the south side of the lodge. The eagle said, "My son, you are now with us. I sent for you that I might pity you. You have been kind to the dog family and I sent for you that you might see the dog that watches over all dogs. It will now speak to you."

The dog sat in the shadow but the man could see he was reddish. The dog said, "The young dogs of your village have prayed that I give you a new dance and that I make you a great warrior among your people because of your kindness to them. Dogs receive no smoke offering from the people. I gave power to the dogs to have pity upon you. I will make you great among your people. When you return to them tell them that you saw me and that I have taken pity on you. Watch my people and do as they do and we will give you power. Now return to your people.

At this point the man awoke. It was morning. He made a fire and noticed that the dogs had left the lodge. After he and his wife had eaten they swept the lodge and the man went out to where the young men were playing. There he saw two poor orphans whom he invited to his house. He gave them places near the fire and told them that he wished them to make his home their home. They were glad.

The young men were each given a place on either side of the entrance for they were to be assistants. During the day other well-to-do young men visited the lodge, but they were not allowed to stay there. Brave warriors also came, but the man would not admit them.

In the evening the young men were told to bring wood and keep up the fire so it would dimly light the lodge. When all was quiet throughout the village singing was heard outside of it. Young and old men went outside of their lodges to listen.

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At the man's lodge the singing ceased. Then they heard the drumming and everyone gathered around the lodge to watch. The singers and dancers took their places. The fire burned low, lighting the lodge but dimly so the dancers could not be plainly seen.

The two assistants sat on either side of the entrance. When the drumming began the dancers arose and danced around the fireplace imitating dogs. Some circled around and whined. The dancing and singing continued until the fire burned out. Then the man told the spectators that the dance was over. When he was alone the man sat at the altar, filled his pipe, lighted it, and blew smoke four times to the skies, to the father dog, to the ground, to the dogs on earth. Then he smoked until the dogs returned to the lodge. He emptied the pipe and lay down at the altar, while the two assistants slept at the entrance.

Again he fell into a trance and saw the dancers and singers in their places. Between the entrance and the fireplace was a pot of meat. Each man took some grease from the pot and went to the altar where he received red paint from the leader. They mixed the grease and paint and daubed it over their bodies. Each man had a short buffalo rawhide rope painted red around his neck.

The leader addressed the men: "My children, young dogs, I have given you the paint for your bodies when you are ready to dance. When in battle you must use this paint for your bodies." The dog men were addressed in this manner for the benefit of the man so he could do the same for the men who would become members of the society.

Again the leader spoke: "My son, tomorrow is our last night with you. You must take one of your young dogs and kill it, scorch and clean it and put it in the kettle on the fire. Watch us and do as we do when you start the dance among your people."

The man awoke and found one of his dogs standing near him, whining. The dog stayed at the altar until daylight when he went out. The man followed and saw him sit and look at the sun which the man also did. They returned to the lodge and sat down at the altar. The boys rose and made a fire while the man smoked. Then he lay down with the dog at his head. He fell asleep and dreamed of a strange looking man who said, "My son, the dogs are all my children. See, I am painted red all over. I am the sun. Do as the dogs tell you. I am watching over you. I will give you power so that you will come out unscathed even from the hardest battle."

The man woke, looked around, and then fell asleep again and dreamed of the dog that was lying near him. The dog was transformed into a fine looking man and said "Father you have been good to us; you have fed us well; you gave us a good place to sleep. You mourned with us when our mother was killed. All this time we cried to the heavens where our father is and now he has taken pity upon us. He has given us power to give you a new dance. You must watch us and do as we tell you. Today you must kill me for I was selected to be with you and your people always. Place the flesh in a kettle and boil it. The singers and dancers will use the grease for mixing with the red paint. After the dance the singers give the meat to onlookers who eat it. Tomorrow all the singers and dancers will go away from here but there will be others to take our places. When you are ready to kill me take a rawhide rope and a pestle used in pounding corn and let the two boys go with you. They will make a loop in the middle of the rope and each will pull as hard as he can. Then you can strike me on the head. My brains will scatter and blood will flow, but I will not be killed. I will stagger around until I am able to run. I will teach you this trick so you can try it on

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539 575 one of the boys in the medicine lodge and everyone will know that you received power from the dogs. Now rise and clean the lodge for father sun is high up."

The man awoke and saw the dog. He ate and ordered the boy to sweep the lodge with fresh bunches of hyssops. Only one dog was left. During the day the chief of the tribe visited the lodge to learn what was happening. The man did not tell. The chief wished his son to join but the man refused. The chief departed. The man took the rawhide rope and the pounder, and went out of the lodge with the two boys, the dog following. They stopped at some timber west of the village. The two assistants put the dog's head through the noose and pulled while the man struck it on the head. They could see the blood and brains ooze out, but the dog staggered about and after a while ran around. He put the dog's head through the loop again and faced him south with the boys on either side. The man filled his pipe and blew smoke four times to the father dog above, to the dog, and finally laid his pipe on the ground. Then he told the boys to pull on the rope again and he struck the dog on the head, killing it. The man gathered the foam from the dog's mouth, and placed it upon his nose and mouth, his head and his body. The dog fell with its head toward the south. They skinned it, cut up the meat placed it in the hide, and carried it to the lodge. The meat was put in a large kettle on the fire; the hide near where the dogs' bed used to be. Now the lodge was put in order for the events of the night.

In the evening, the two assistants let the fire die down. As usual, singing was heard outside the lodge. It came nearer and nearer and the singers stopped at the entrance and then filed in, the four singers in the lead. They took their places behind the drums. The others sat around the fireplace. The assistants made a fire and the drumming and singing was begun, the men around the fire dancing as before. The dancers stood in place while the drummers sang a certain song. The leader of the singers now began to dance, circling one of the dancers. Then the man jumped up and danced with the singer. Spectators began to crowd in.

The singer danced up to the dancer on the south side pretending to place something on his neck. A great shout arose and the singer danced backward. When he danced forward the fourth time he threw a string with a whistle attached around the man's head. The dancers shouted again and the singer threw a bunch of owl feathers on his head. Then he threw a rope painted red and about four feet long around the man's neck. All this was a reminder of how the dog was killed. Later, a red sash was used in place of the rope.

The singer returned to his place behind his drum while the others danced. At the close of the dancing, the leading singer addressed the men: "My son, you shall do these in your dancing. When the string is put around the neck of a new dancer you shall receive him into your dance. 'No matter how high a man stands among his people, if the string and whistle fall to the ground you shall send him out of the lodge. While we are singing the dancers may dance around the fireplace and take a piece of meat from the kettle and give it to the spectators who may divide it among themselves." After the meat was distributed the spectators were asked to leave.

The leading singer then asked the man to fill his pipe, light it, and stand west of the fireplace and blow smoke four times to father dog in the heavens, to the sun, to the entrance, and to the drums. Then he emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He was also told to place the dog skin at the altar when it was tanned and to blow smoke to it. Then he gave him the whistle with the string, the owl feathers, and the rope. The leading singer said, "We will now sing. All rise and dance toward the entrance and go where you wish. We have now taught him everything."

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They drummed, sang, and danced around the fireplace out of the lodge. The singing and drumming gradually ceased and when the fire was made there was no one left in the lodge. After this the man often dreamed and found that the dance was given to poor people, especially the poor boys of the village. 539 575

After the final dance, all the dogs disappeared. Every night the man and the two boys sang and other young men came in and assisted. When quite a number of young men knew the songs the man told them to come the next night and bring with them their quivers, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Among the young men who wished to join was a chief's son. He told them that they would go to the enemy's camp that night. They all agreed to go with him.

That night he wrapped up the dog skin, the string and whistle, the owl feathers, and the rope and placed them on his back. As they started off they sang the first song the man had heard the dog men singing. They sang four times and then went on their way. For several days they continued when some of the young men began to show signs of weariness. Then the man gave them a root to chew to revive them. When the chief's son became tired the man paid no attention to him. Finally, he turned back.

At length they came to the enemy's camp. The man put on his regalia and went to the camp. He captured some ponies on which they returned home. When they arrived the people said the young dog people were good travelers.

After this at night the young men met to sing the dog songs. When the man heard them, he would have the two boys build a fire and the young men would come in and sing. One time, on their return to the village from a buffalo hunt some of the young men told the man that they each had a parfleche filled with dried buffalo meat and they wished to dance. The man did not reply but consulted his two assistants who said: "Buffalo meat is good, but first we must get a reddish dog." One young man said, "My people have one, I can get it." 575

The dance was started and all the young men who danced and received the string and whistle became members. This society became very important and when the Arikara joined the Skidí they saw the dance. Among the Arikara was one man who knew the sun dance. He met the leader of the young dogs and they exchanged dances. The Skidí joined the two and had the young dog sun dance three times. All the dancers had to be cut and suspended three times. [177] [535]

This society became a great power among the people. One time during a buffalo hunt the people were attacked by the Sioux and the soldiers were all killed and the crow lance taken from them. The tribe was left without police so the chiefs (not the priests) selected the dog society to act as police on the hunt. Their old men cried through the village telling the people to keep quiet and not to drum or sing. The men were not permitted to hunt at any distance nor were guns to be shot. The women were not to chop wood but were to gather dry limbs. One night a man came to the village 224 575 625 [648]

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with buffalo meat. He had consecrated it and taken it to one of the minor bundles and that night the priests had a bundle ceremony. The dog soldiers went into the lodge, took the meat, cut it up and gave it to the dogs. The owner of the meat was taken out and whipped and his gun broken. He became angry and drew his knife. They all attacked him and hurt him badly. After this occurred, the dog soldiers were dismissed and the lance men were again the tribal police.

The dog society was so important not only because the members were good warriors, but great medicinemen. None of them were cowards, they were all brave men.

The Mischievous Society.

An organization generally known as the mischievous society, but also as the circumcised, once existed among the Chauí.

Many years ago when the Chauí were alone, two young men were always running around during the night, playing bad tricks upon anyone they met. At this time the people wore no clothing, especially the boys. In the winter time the boys wore a bull calf hide, if they were well-to-do; but if they were poor they wore half a bull hide, their moccasins and leggings. They had neither shirt nor covering for their privates.

In a village of mud-lodges there happened to be one mud-lodge that was empty for all the people who lived in it had died. These two mischievous boys made their home in this lodge. People, especially the young men, were afraid to go near this lodge in the night for it was said that ghosts dwelt there. These two young men frightened people when they came near the lodge by making strange noises, whistling, and throwing mud at them.

In the daytime they watched the young men in the village and when they saw certain ones who seemed fearless they invited them to meet them in the empty mud-lodge. When they spoke of the mud-lodge, those who were cowards would refuse to go, but those who were brave accepted the invitation. These meetings were held in the winter time when the people lived in mud-lodges, for in the summer time they lived in tipis away from the village. When these young men met they would plan to send out young men to scare those who were prowling through the village during the night. The two leading boys appeared as if circumcised and invited to their meetings only those of similar appearance.

In their meetings in the deserted lodge they would do all sorts of mischievous and obscene things. When on a buffalo hunt in the winter time they would get together and make a grass lodge in which to hold their

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meetings. The boys in the village heard of their meetings and doings and many were anxious to join. When the people returned to their permanent village, the boys again held their meetings in their lodge. During the day the two leading young men would play with the boys of the village and whenever they observed one of circumcised appearance they would ask him to come to their meetings. Thus the society grew until they had many of the boys in the village. Every night they met in the lodge, each bringing a little dried buffalo meat and some parched corn, so that when their meeting was over they would have something to eat.

At last they became so numerous that one night in their meeting they talked of going on the warpath. (These boys never stole anything in the camp but kept others from stealing.) While they were discussing their war project, the boy who acted as a watcher announced that a young boy out there wanted to come to their meeting. The two leaders asked if he was of their kind, the answer was "no." Then the other boy was told to tell the boy to come to the lodge in the daytime.

The two leading boys now dismissed the others. When they were alone they began to plan for their altar. At last they agreed to have two long poles, about seven feet long and about one foot around. One end was to be forked, but the prongs trimmed off close, the whole shaped to serve as a phallus. When completed, both symbolic poles were blackened in the fire. After the altar had been arranged they considered how they could increase the membership and how young men wishing to join could be artificially circumcised. One of the eligible young men volunteered that his condition was due to accidental contact with the juice of the milkweed, causing a sore by which the foreskin was removed. This suggestion was adopted as part of future initiations.

The next day the two leaders entered the lodge each bearing a bunch of fresh milkweed. Here they sat down. Soon the other members came in. One of them was told to watch outside. When the candidate came to the lodge he was told to enter. When inside he was seized, thrown down upon the ground, and held while the two leaders applied the milkweed juice. He was then turned loose. He was told to sit among them and when tired to go home but that he must tell no one what had happened to him. This kind of work was carried on until there were many boys sick from the inflammation. People wondered why there were so many boys sick. The boys were not really sick but as they were naked in those days they did not want to go out and be seen in their condition.

Now the boys got the poles and prepared them as the two leaders wished. When completed they were placed at the altar in the lodge. They extended east and west, the head part toward the east. The leaders made clay pipes

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539 575 and baked them. The stems were of ash. During their meetings the leaders filled their pipes with native tobacco and offered smoke to the poles. Then they would send other young men out to frighten people who were prowling around in the night. When the boys returned to the lodge, before they told what they had done, they passed their hands over the poles and offered thanks for their help. Then they sat down between the poles and told their story. All would laugh.

Several years afterwards these boys had grown to be young men and began to talk about going upon the warpath in earnest. While they were planning one day an alarm was given: the enemy were coming to attack their village. The boys were all in their lodge. They were told to remain there until ordered to go out. Some wanted to run out for they wished to get their bows and arrows, but the two leaders would not let them go. The leaders took some grass from the lodge and burned it to make soot. They told the boys to do likewise. After they were all smeared with the soot, they were told to get their bows and arrows and join them. When the boys returned to the lodge with their bow and arrows, the two leading men took up the two black poles and ran to the battlefield. The line of men was extended clear along the battle front. Most of the men were massed at each end of the line. So these boys selected the center as their place. The two with the poles stood in the center, but the members scattered out. When the enemy attacked the boys, the leaders told their followers to shoot to kill. When one of the boys killed an enemy, one of the pole bearers would run forward and strike him with the pole and then return to his place. In this the two pole bearers alternated. Through the heroism of these boys the enemy was finally driven away and pursued by the mounted men.

The boys returned to their lodge for they were afoot and could not follow the enemy. When all the men had returned to the village, each one told what he had done in the battle. Some told of the strange-looking people in the center of the battle line and all wondered who they were, for all the lances known to the people were in the battle. The boys were careful and never spoke of their doings. Some men said that they saw one of the boys carrying an odd looking pole, but the people could not find out who the boys were.

Some time after the battle, when all the victory dances were over, the boys met in their lodge. When all the young boys were seated around the fireplace, the leader said, "Brothers, we are in our own lodge. I have something to say to you and if what I say is good, I want to know. You can all see how men go on the warpath for five or six months to return with many ponies and perhaps several scalps waving upon their poles. The

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people turn out to see them come in. The victorious party comes over the hills as if they were attacking the enemy. Chiefs and brave men go out to meet them. Women stand on the outskirts of the village giving their war cry. When the men are near the village we see their faces are smeared with charred grass, their lips white with clay. The black faces signify that they have traveled in the night and faced dangers; their white lips, that they were hungry for many days and finally came upon the enemy, conquered them, and captured their ponies. You have looked upon the leader who carried the sacred things upon his back. Chiefs and brave men honored him. I know all of you would like to be in his place. I know I would. Boys we can do the same. We have been meeting here night after night. We now have two poles to lead us into the enemy's country. I have it in my heart to lead you. If we die at the hands of the enemy it will be well. Some of you boys are better off than the rest of us, for you have grandfathers and fathers who tell you that it is better to die at the hands of the enemy than to die of sickness in the village and be put under mother earth and have dirt rest upon you. Who of you are willing to go with me?"

Each boy said, "I will go with you." The leader was glad and said, "Brothers when you go to your homes, let your sisters or grandmothers make you four pairs of moccasins and when they are completed let them fill them with parched corn or pemmican. Those of you who have neither sisters nor grandmothers go to your nearest of kin among the women and ask them for a piece of tanned buffalo hide, some sinew, and bring them to this lodge and make your own moccasins. Do not steal these things, but ask for them. We will make preparations for the next four days and on the fifth night we will start for the enemy's country."

Soon after this talk by their leader, the boys went to their homes. Most of them were orphans and it was hard to get anything from other people. The two leaders were orphans, they had no relatives or friends. They did not try to get anything from anybody. They sat in their lodge and made two small sticks to represent the two larger ones, so they could carry these sticks upon their backs. When the boys returned to the lodge the next day, some had more hide than they needed and some had several pairs of moccasins and they gave the leaders what they did not need.

The third night the boys met in their lodge, each brought his moccasins and other things he thought he might need. The leaders saw that each boy was provided with moccasins and provisions. Some of them had more and they willingly gave to others who had none. Now the leader said, "Brothers you can hang up your bundles upon the walls and then go to your homes or to your friends and get you a knife, some arrows and a bow. Bring the things to the lodge at night and we will get ready to start. You may now go home."

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539 575 At night the boys came into the lodge with things they needed. When all were in, the leader told each boy to take a bunch of grass and place it in his belt. When this was done he told them all to paint their faces with burnt grass. Then the leader said, "Brothers, we are seated here as warriors. We are about to go on the warpath. Tonight after all is quiet, we will go through the village. We will enter every lodge and sing our songs. When we stop singing them one of the boys must light the grass, then all must take their breech cloths off and dance in the light, naked. We will do this so that when we go on the warpath if we are not successful we will not return. In case the enemy attack us, we will fight until everyone is killed. As soon as we have marched through the village, all must come to this lodge for we are to start from here. If anyone returns to his lodge he cannot go with us. We will now march through the village."

The two leaders led the young men and as they entered the lodge, they stood in a circle around the fireplace and sang. When they stopped singing, one of the boys went to the fireplace where there were coals and lit the grass. The boys all took their coverings off and the women jeered at them. When the fire died out they went to another lodge. After they had visited every lodge they returned to their own. When all were seated, the leader told the boys that he was pleased for now the tribe knew that all the boys were circumcised.

[83] The leader filled his pipe and offered four whiffs to the two large phallic poles and four whiffs to the two small ones which he was to take with him. As he offered smoke to the two large poles he said, "Fathers, we are about to go upon the warpath, we are to leave you in this lodge, but make us brave that we may conquer our enemy and make it easy for us to capture his ponies." Then he dumped the ashes at the ends of the poles. He wrapped the two small poles and the pipe in a coonskin, for he had dreamed that he was like a coon and had to get a coonskin to protect them. He tied the bundle on his back. Then he told the other leader to rise. Both stood at the altar. Then they told the other boys to take up their bundles and rise. They left the lodge and marched around the village by the north and west until they stood directly south of the village. Here they sang their songs, shouted, and ran towards the south. When they were some distance from the village, they squatted down and waited until daylight. The leader did not miss any of the boys and was glad. Now they marched on again.

One night the leader selected four boys to act as scouts. It was to be the duty of these boys to go out before daylight and see what was in the country. They were to report again before daylight. In the night they were also to look over the country and report to the leaders. One day the scouts came in and reported seeing fourteen or more tipis and many ponies.

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The leader now selected a thick timbered country. Here they cleared off the ground, made a fireplace, and built a big fire. The leader made an altar and placed the two sticks on it. He offered his smoke. Then it was time to have their mischievous doings which they kept up until dawn. The leader gave one of the sticks to the other leader and they started for the village. They stopped once and the leader selected seven boys to round up the ponies while the others attacked the village. Then they started. The seven men went to where the ponies were. The others surrounded the village. A shout went up, women and children ran out of the village, but the men were killed and scalped. The seven boys drove the ponies from the village. With scalps hung upon their belts the boys ran into tipis taking things that were of value. The enemy had run into the timber, but were now rallying so the boys ran to where the others were driving the ponies. Each boy caught a pony, mounted, and ran away. Two days and two nights, they journeyed north until they came to thick timbered country where they halted. When they jumped off their ponies, they were so sore they could hardly walk. Some of the young men were now sent out to get buffalo. When the meat was brought they all began to roast it for they were hungry. The boys with the scalps cut poles and hung the scalps upon them to dry. They all lay down and slept. 539 575

The next morning they were up at dawn and after eating some of the meat again took up their journey. So they kept on only stopping at night until they were near the village. Then they decorated themselves with soot for they had no other paint. Now they got upon their ponies and rode to a high hill. Here they began to sing and yell until the village turned out and wondered who they were. Presently a messenger was sent out to meet them. When the messenger was near the leader shouted to him, "Tell the people the mischievous boys are coming with many ponies." The messenger went to the village and shouted, "The mischievous boys are coming with many ponies." The village turned out. The chief was among them. The leader gave one pony to the chief. The young men entered the village, their parents and friends meeting them.

Several times they went on the warpath and each time they were successful. As time went on some of the young men married and raised families. On a buffalo hunt these young men having fine horses were able to kill their own buffalo meat, so they were well provided for. Sometimes they feasted the poor in the village, then feasted the old people, and at last they feasted the chiefs. These young men killed buffalo and consecrated the meat, so now they became great men. In battle they were brave.

One of the leaders was riding near the place where they were to camp when they saw boys playing the javelin game. They rode up and looked on.

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575 The people were building their tipis. They called a young man and told him to go to the chief and tell him to place mats on the ground to have his ceremony. The chief, when notified, told the women to spread mats in a circle upon the ground. His soldier being there, the chief told him to call four other men. While the soldier was gone, the chief took the bustle, a spear, tomahawk, shield, and a war-bonnet and placed them on the mat. Then he brought out two water drums. As soon as the men came, two of them sat down by the drums, took up the drumsticks and began to sing. The chief himself was the first to take up the bustle and tied it around his waist. He now took up his bow and arrows; then he squatted down upon the ground; then he began to grunt, his head and shoulders shaking to keep time with the drumming. Finally, he arose and danced. When the singing ceased, the chief spoke in a loud voice, "I speak of a certain place I killed an eagle. I consecrated the eagle and that same year I killed an enemy, took his scalp, and consecrated the scalps to the gods in the heavens, and the gods received my smoke." Again he said, "I speak of a certain place I killed a wildcat and consecrated it and that same year I went upon the warpath and captured ponies. I was successful and when I returned to the village, I took one pony and gave it to the priest." Again he shouted, "I speak of a certain place. I killed a raccoon. I consecrated it to the gods in the heavens. That same year I went on the warpath and I captured many ponies. Upon my return to the village, I gave four horses to different men. To the men who want me to do this I have spoken. The gods in the heavens have heard me. They will make the path straight for you to do likewise." He then untied the bustle and threw it on the ground when the next man took and went through the same evolutions with it relating his deeds. Each man took up the bustle and told of his deeds.

Then the leading mischievous man came into the ring with two horses, eight poles, and two parfleches of meat. One parfleche was opened, the meat cut up and given to men, women, and children, who were looking on. The other parfleche was opened and the chiefs ate the meat. Then the presents were divided among the chiefs.

When the people returned to the village the mischievous men met in their lodge. The leader took up the poles, stood up and said, "Brothers, we all now have families, have attained places among our people and are respected. Our meetings must end. I now put these sticks into the fire. I ask that each of you join some of the societies and always be brave. My friend and I will join the brave lance people. You are all now released and we will not meet here again. This is all." They left the lodge and each went to his home.

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The Organized War Party.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (araris taka, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite fundamental, being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle and that the Skidí were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence, to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being discovered.

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar.

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (Mother Corn), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way, their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers, the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority. They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner. They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an

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726 ever-changing course. The members of the party paint their faces and robes heavily with white clay, which is the war paint of the Pawnee and symbolizes the wolf. The scouts also wear two white eagle feathers in the hair so set as to resemble the ears of the wolf.

Thus when one looked over the crest of a hill, he would appear as a wolf. Wolfskin caps were often worn by these scouts to heighten the illusion. Since in course of time other Indians knew the wolf cry signals, different animals were imitated according to orders of the leader.

When the enemy has been located, the leaders conduct the party into a thicket and hold a ceremony. The inexperienced members of the party (youths) gather the wood and act as servants. One young man goes out to cut the drumsticks, these he rolls up in his robe and with wolf cries runs into camp, placing the sticks before those who are to be singers. The rolled up robe he also places there for them to beat upon. A small circular altar is made by clearing the sod and exposing fresh earth. The ear of corn, the otterskin collar, the pipe and the hawkskin taken from the bundle at the start, are placed in position. All then arrange themselves in two sides as in the regular ceremony. One goes out and hunts up a buffalo skull which also has a place upon the altar. The ceremony is opened with the regular smoke offering. The leader sends one to cut a number of small sticks, at least one for each member of the party. With these sticks, offerings are to be made for which each member brought certain trinkets. These offerings are formally dedicated to all the powers of the earth, sky, etc. Each ties his present to a stick and plants it at the altar. The offerings for the powers above are set up vertically and the others in corresponding positions. The drumsticks are then taken up for beating upon a robe and singing and dancing follow. The four soldiers drive out the dancers and keep them dancing around the fire.

[533] The songs are largely derisive of those who stayed at home. The members also sing of their sweethearts. All these songs have a peculiar rhythm and end with wolf calls, from which they take the name of wolf songs (see vol. 7, 267). On the journey no one is permitted to speak of home and relations with women, lest he lose heart.

At the close a council is held to develop the plan of action. Thus, it is decided as to whether they will simply run off horses by stealth, or make an attack. If the enemy seems numerous, the former is most desirable. In this case a few men are selected to go for the horses while the others wait. Usually the scouts and the soldiers are sent on this mission, temporary soldiers being appointed to hold the men in camp. The scouts endeavor to drive out the horses toward the main body who catch what they can and mounting, drive off at high speed. The leader rides ahead, the others hold

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the flanks of the loose horses while the scouts and soldiers bring up the rear. They ride almost continuously for three days, or until exhaustion, and then camp in a sheltered place. Some hunt, others guard the horses. When the first buffalo meat is brought in an altar is made, as before stated, and the regular smoke offering performed. Two men are then chosen by the leader to divide the spoils. They divide the horses according to the ranks of the members, inexperienced men getting but one horse. After the division the name-changing ceremony is performed for the young men on their first war party.

After sufficient rest, they set out for home. As they approach their village they set the grass afire at intervals so that their people may know that a war party is returning. When near the village they paint their faces black or dot over with black the white paint of the warpath. When in sight they signal the result of the expedition and are met by the chiefs who triumphantly conduct them into the village. Feasting and jollifying then follow. If coups have been counted or scalps taken, a victory dance will be held.

After an interval the leader of the party calls the members together and any of those formerly in a party who now constitute a kind of society of the wolves. The altar is again constructed and the ceremony performed. Two of the captured horses are brought out and loaded with presents, the objects from the bundle are also placed there and the horses lead to the keeper of the bundle where they are received by the priest. They are then returned to the bundle and the keeper goes at once to the place of ceremony; he stands by the altar and gives them his blessing.

On the warpath a man may vow to give one horse to the mother corn, in which case a horse is given to the keeper of the main bundle, who also gives his blessing.

With these acts the true wolf dance begins. In the dance all the young men may join, who hope to go out with the next war party and as they dance the old men sit around and ridicule their ardor. With this ceremony and the return of the sacred objects to the bundle, the war party ceases to exist.

It seems that those who have taken part in such a foray constitute a kind of wolf society which at various and sundry times conducts dances in the village in which all boys and young men may join. The object is to give practice in the songs and ritualistic parts of the ceremonies necessary to the warpath. In these dances pieces of rawhide were used for drums.

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The Woman's Society.

575 727 With one possible exception there seem to have been no associations for women. We have even no data as to anything like the associations of quill workers (p. 79). In the preceding we have noted the victory dance of the women which may, perhaps, have had a crude organization, but there was an association of single women, old maids, and widows, to whose organization captives of war were presented. Their regalia were ludicrous. Their mock war-bonnets were made of corn husks instead of feathers; their bows were the poorest of sticks; their lances were of weed stalks adorned with husks; and their shields, hoops covered with cloth and husks. Some of them carried hollow stems of the wild sunflower, through which they blew dust into the air. One woman acts as chief, her badge being a large clam shell on the breast.

When captives were taken, they were turned over to this organization. The ceremonies were public dancing and the torture of the prisoner. All this may be made clearer by the following narrative: —

The Pawnee had set out on one of their summer buffalo hunts. Only a few old and sickly people remained in the villages. On the third day of their march they reached the Loupe. The main body crossed and pitched camp among the hills, but far behind were a few stragglers and a group of boys playing the hoop game. The latter stopped at the river to finish a game before crossing. Here they were discovered by a Dakota war party and surprised. They scattered out for cover, but a few got away with their horses and crossing the river fled toward the camp of the main body. The whole Dakota party crossed in hot pursuit and were thus led into a trap for the Pawnee in camp had seen the signals and the whole armed body dashed to the rescue. Many of the Dakota were killed in the running fight that followed.

When the pursuing Pawnee returned they went over the field to count the dead and collect the spoils. As they were going along one of the Dakota arose and looked about in a bewildered manner; he had only been stunned by the fall of his horse. He was seized and taken to camp. According to custom he was taken to the chief for instructions. He consulted with the society of braves, then in charge of the camp, and it was decided to turn him over to the women's society. A messenger was sent to inform the leader of this organization. She at once called in the members, who proceeded to the chief's tipi, marched the prisoner out to the south of the camp where they bound him to a tree.

The women then returned to the lodge of their leader to prepare their regalia. When all was ready they danced through the village and paraded to the place of torture. Then, as was the custom, they kindled a large fire in front of the prisoner and prepared for a four-day ceremony. Every indignity was offered the unfortunate prisoner. Old women would urinate in bowls and force him to drink. Others would take up coals of fire and touch him here and there.

On the third day the chief's wife took her little girl out to see the tortures. While they were there an old woman came up with a bundle. She took out a large piece of

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dried back fat. This she heated in the fire until hot and while other women held the prisoner she spread it on his back. The little girl was overcome at the sight and began to scream. Her mother took her home but she cried and refused to be comforted. Finally, the chief asked the cause of this crying and was informed. He coaxed and threatened without result for the child declared that she would continue to scream until the prisoner was turned loose. The chief said that could not be done and so the child continued to wail. The people gathered in and gradually developed sympathy for the child. So the chief called in the braves, but they declared themselves powerless. Then he called in the chiefs and the soldiers to discuss the matter. The sentiment of the camp was now aroused, so four soldiers were sent out to order the women's society to disband. They then conducted the prisoner to the council lodge and seated him there.

The chief then sent for his daughter, who had stopped crying. He stated that they had with some difficulty granted her wish and that now she must get water for the prisoner. Accordingly she brought water and held the bowl for him to drink. Then the chief ordered her to get a large bowl of water and some buffalo wool and when these were brought to wash the man's wounds. Then buffalo fat mixed with red earth was given her to rub over him.

Now, said the chief, since you would have this man released, you must feed him. So dried meat and fat were brought. Some of the fat she handed to the man to eat, while she cooked the dried meat. When ready she set the food before him, placed four small bits of meat in his mouth and then signed for him to eat. When he had finished, she set a bowl of water for him to wash. The chief then gave her permission to withdraw.

Then the chief sent for his horses. He ordered his best horse prepared for riding and loaded with baggage for the journey. Next he brought out clothing and dressed the man in his own fine clothes, even his ceremonial leggings, shirt, and moccasins. Finally, the girl brought a new robe and wrapped it around the man. The chief then addressed the Dakota: "You are to go home. You are a free man. All these things we give you. My daughter here saved your life. She alone did it. Now go to your people and tell them of her deeds."

Four soldiers were called in to escort the Dakota beyond the range of the Pawnee, but some revengeful young man attacked him. Far across the Loupe they sent him on his way. He reached home safely.

Some three years later the Pawnee were surprised to receive a visit from their enemies, the Dakota. It was a very large party that came to the chief's lodge, the leader asked for the girl who saved the life of a Dakota. Then they knew him. The chief took him into his own lodge and the others were quartered in the village.

The Pawnee entertained their guests well. On the last day they gave the iruska dance for their visitors. The Dakota entered into the dance. He was naked; on his body were painted red spots to show his burns and many prints of hands since he had been held by many of the Pawnee. He addressed the Pawnee, explaining that he had come to see his daughter once more, she who had saved his life, that his own people did not believe his story; hence he brought them that they might see for themselves. In return the Pawnee vouched for the narrative.

Many times during his life this Dakota visited the Pawnee and he labored unceasingly to bring about a permanent peace between them and his people.

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MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

The medicinemen of the Pawnee were members of several permanent organizations. Once a year, late in the summer, each tribal division held a grand medicine ceremony lasting twenty days or more which though in many respects a tribal affair had a permanent organization. Its leaders were assumed to be the grand masters of shamanism and to know the secrets of all other societies. At another time during the season the doctor's dance is held, a general one-day ceremony for which there is also an organization. Independent of these ceremonies were a number of societies composed of one or two great medicinemen, a few students and a considerable number of attached members who took part in the dancing, but were not otherwise acquainted with the secrets. These organizations usually held ceremonies twice a year, early in the spring and late in the autumn. These were ritualistic ceremonies, the underlying conception of which seems to be the purification and the renewing of the powers resident in the sacred objects belonging to their craft. The Skidí maintained two large earth-lodges, one in the east and one in the west for these ceremonies and it is these lodges that were popularly known as the grand medicine lodges. The one in the west seems to have been the original lodge and the one most often used.

At the sound of the first thunder in spring, the members of the medicine societies like the keepers of bundles, take out all their regalia and implements, purify them in a smudge of sweetgrass and perform a prescribed ceremony. The next day the regular ceremony begins. The altar in the medicine lodge is prepared and in front of it are set up the two sacred loons, facing east. Two wooden bowls are filled with blue earth and soot, with which the members paint. As in other ceremonies, the seats are in two sides, with the leaders and all other officers paired. Each side has a buffalo rawhide to beat upon and about a dozen gourd rattles are at hand for the use of the dancers. There are also two water drums.

The first ceremonies are dances to the mythical water monster. The leader for the north side opens, then the leader for the south, and so on in turn around the circle. As this proceeds, people may enter and make offerings of property to the loons at the altar and also make presents to individual dancers.

Then the regular Pawnee smoke offering is made. Each medicineman then in turn brings a filled pipe to the altar and makes the offering. A herald then goes out and invites all who had given presents (only men who

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have consecrated buffalo or performed certain deeds can smoke at any time) to come with their pipes. All who wish, enter in turn and offer their pipes. As these offering ceremonies are in reality prayers, this is regarded as the best time to plead for success in all things and this is also the motive in bringing in property and presents.

Another period of singing and dancing closes the ceremony, after which the medicinemen divide the presents. Kettles of corn are brought in and the bowls for the feast. The leaders fill the bowls for their sides and make a special offering before the bowls are passed. Meat is then brought in and handled in a similar manner.

A somewhat similar ceremony is held in the autumn but this time in a circular shelter of green boughs suggesting the sun dance enclosure of the Dakota.

While the medicinemen's societies were not recognized as such in the twenty-day ceremony, they were sure to have among their members famous medicinemen who would set up their booths in the lodge. Usually one of these was the leader of a society and around him the members would gather and assist in staging his tricks. The members of a society were really students from whose ranks the leading places were filled in times of need.

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

	Skidi	Chaui	Pitahauirata	Kit'kahahki	Squash Vine
Twenty-day Ceremony (tawaru kutchu, bigsleight-of-hand)	×	×	×	×	×
Doctor Dance (kurau)	×	×	×	×	–
Bear Society (pitararis kuruks)	×	×	×	×	–
Buffalo Doctors (kura taraha)	×	×	–	–	–
Deer Society (raris ta)	×	×	×	×	–
Blood Doctors (kura patu)	×	–	–	–	–
Iruska Society (pitararis iruska)	×	–	×	–	–
One Horn Dance (raris arika)	×	×	×	×	×

THE TWENTY-DAY CEREMONY.

Once a year, late in the summer, each division had a grand medicine ceremony. This lasted from twenty to thirty days and was an intense

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affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the following general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidí and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth [343] of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

Among the Skidí there is a special feature since they are not content with merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares. The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidí the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidí plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

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is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morningstar; the many small images, stars. 184 532 756

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidí, two loons are used, for the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few clowns dressed like wolves. 778 796 756 796 [522]

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed. [171]

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The Bear Society.

756 Among the very highest of shamans and doctors were the bear men. Among their regalia were four bearskins, a grizzly, cinnamon, the large [301] black bear, and the small black bear. There were also four bear-claw necklaces. Eight rawhide rattles were used. Preparatory to a ceremony two piles of cedar brush were placed in the lodge, one for each side. When the members have assembled a sprig is given to each, set up before his seat, and carried in the dance. The sprig is carried home, the leaves stripped and the [789] wood cast into the fire. The leaves are placed in a bag and used for ceremonial smudges; thus if a thunderstorm threatens, a smudge is made to protect the lodge.

When called to a ceremony, the members enter, take their seats and place [302] their professional bundles in front. Then they paint. One set of men paints red, one white, and another a kind of pink. All make black eye marks, a diagonal line from the inner corner of the eye down across the cheek. If feathers are worn in the hair, they are of the same color as the face.

When all are ready, the leader designates two men from each side, to wear the bearskins. These were worn merely as robes, the head on one side, the tail on the other. Sometimes two small boys are selected to dance with [53] very small bearskins. Four water drums are used; these are passed, or moved around the circle at intervals. While the songs are rendered, the members dance around the fireplace and during the intervals walk around the fire, or mill like bears.

At the feast which follows the kettle of corn is brought in and as in all ceremonies is set upon the median line of the lodge between the door and the fire. (Fig. 4). Eight bowls are placed around it in a circle, those in [264] the north half going to that side in order, etc. After the corn is served, the kettle of meat is brought in and served in a similar manner. Thus each side eats in four groups. No one is permitted to use a knife while eating. After the feast each makes up his bundle and departs.

While all the divisions seem to have had a bear society, its full ritual was in the keeping of the Skidi organization.

Buffalo Doctors.

Another important society found among the Skidi and Chaui is known as [178] kura taraha, buffalo doctors. On their altar is a buffalo skull, one half white, one half red; also a wand with seven eagle feathers, at the top a tiny bag of native tobacco and four strings of blue beads hanging down. The

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dancers wear headdresses made of buffalo wool and stick buffalo tails in their belts. In former times the full buffalo head was worn. They carry rattles of buffalo hoofs. Each paints with earth from a buffalo wallow mixed with the urine of male and female buffaloes.

One member carried a staff, or lance, strung with buffalo dew claws. The important object, however, was a sacred shield, kept hanging in the lodge. It was painted red and bore the designs of four buffalo horns in black. There were no feathers or other decorations.

As indicated in the diagram (Fig. 16) the chiefs and a few distinguished old men are given seats near the door. We have again the peculiar feature of passing the drums, or alternating leadership. This is made clear by the diagram; in addition to the regular leaders and their two assistants, each side has two groups of alternate leaders. In the ceremony the head leaders open, but after the second song, pass the drums to the nearest leaders on the north side. After two more songs, they are taken to the leaders opposite on the south side, etc., until completing the circuit four times.

The ritual is known to these groups of leaders only, and between them sit the ordinary members. These may be of all ages, including the small sons of those present or descended from dead leaders.

The Deer Society.

The raris ta, or deer society, is found among all divisions, but its ritual seems to be in keeping of the Skiłł organizations. The fundamental elements of the ritual seem to be based upon the mescal bean, for this society teaches that all animal powers were learned through the power of the mescal bean. While the name of the society is taken from the generic term for deer (ta), the dancers imitate many kinds of animals, suggesting that we have a general animal cult instead of a specific one. That the mescal is fundamental is suggested in the initiation of members. Tea made from mescal beans by a definite formula is given the candidate and when he falls unconscious, the leader tests him by rasping down his spine with the toothed jaw of a gar fish; if he moves or flinches in the least, he is rejected once for all.

Again at the regular ceremonies shamanistic feats with mescal beans may be performed. If anyone in the village brings in a new red blanket for the leader, these must be demonstrated. The performing members then rise and dance, presently shaking mescal beans from bunches of sage and other unexpected places. The leader does not dance but industriously sweeps up beans from the bare ground. At the end all the beans magically produced

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are placed in a pile and later given to the donor of the blanket. Other shamanistic feats may occur, but seem to be individual and entirely optional.

As in other societies of this class the members bring their professional bundles to the ceremony and display their contents. The regalia peculiar to the society are large whistles, to symbolize the elk, and foxskins carried

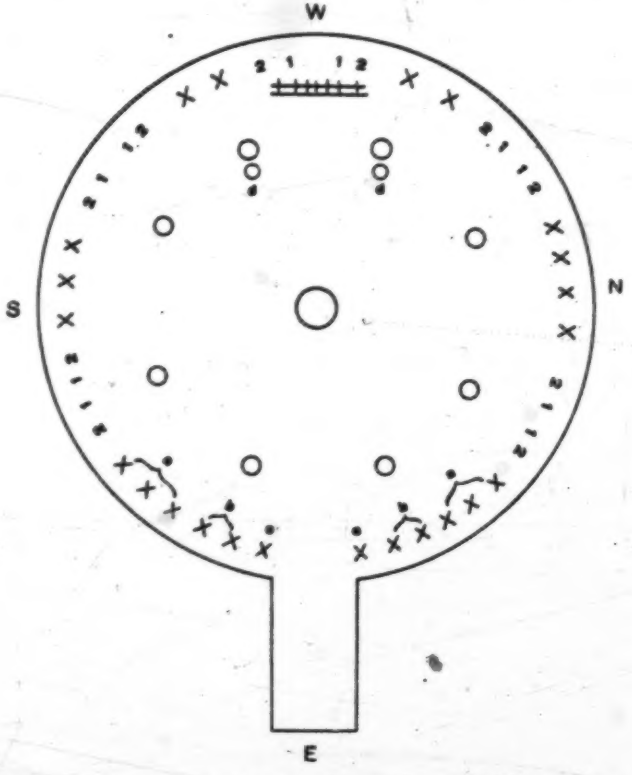

Fig. 16. Diagram of the Buffalo Doctors' Ceremony: a, Chiefs; b, old men; c, errand men; d, place of the drums when not in use. The leaders of the ceremony sit at the west but on each side are two pairs of alternate leaders to whom the drums are shifted as the ritual requires.

by the neck when dancing. A few members wear braided buffalo hide ropes into which feathers are woven and some carry wings of birds.

The order of seating is shown in Fig. 17. It differs slightly from the preceding for the leaders sit, not at the west of the door as is usual, but on the

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south side. The seats west of the door are occupied by chiefs who are paired according to the two sides of the lodge. In front of the permanent leaders are laid four bows and four gourd rattles, the latter painted white. These bows and rattles are shifted at intervals to the alternating groups of leaders as previously described. [756]

The regular ceremony is held once a year when the wild sage plant reaches

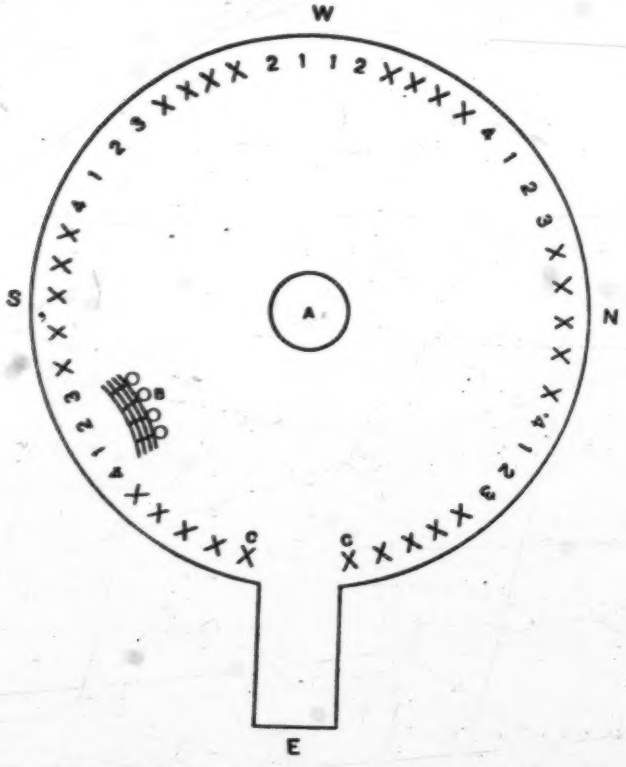

Fig. 17. Diagram of the Deer Society Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, four bows upon which rest four rattles for the leaders; C, errand men. The unusual feature of this ceremony is the place of the leaders and their order of rank; as the ritual proceeds B is shifted to the other four numbered places on the south side, then across and down the north side. At the west 1-2, 1-2 are hereditary chiefs from villages of the respective sides.

a certain stage of maturity. This plant is spread thickly around the lodge and used in the incense offerings. [824]

It is of interest to note that the members of this society are renowned

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756 snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and [875] complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

Blood Doctors.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing woodén bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

[789] The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

The Iruska.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauí known as the pitararis iruska. However, the Pítahauírata division was also repre- [194] sented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauí the north. The Skidí had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidí did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the Skidí at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the [752] powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for they treated burns.

539 Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until 756 he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

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The man in question, Crow-feather, was very peculiar. He never took part in ceremonies; he never consecrated buffalo to propitiate the gods. Every night he went out in the hills, gazed at the sky, wondering at the powers there. When he was sleepy he lay down near the altar in his lodge. Before daylight, he went out into the hills again and sat facing the east. When the sun was high in the heavens he returned home. 539 756

One afternoon, when he went out and sat on a high hill overlooking the cornfields, he noticed black smoke rising. At dusk, the smoke was still rising. This caused him to wonder for he knew the people should be home at that time.

He went where he had seen the smoke rising and found some strange people sitting round the fire, laughing at one another as they roasted corn. When the corn husks burned, one of the men tore them off holding the corn until his hands burned. They all laughed at this. The man watched them for some time. When anyone dropped the hot corn, the others laughed and cried, "He is not an iruska." After a time, they sang four songs, repeating each four times. The men then played with the fire with their bare hands. Crow-feather soon learned the songs.

One of the men who acted as a servant saw Crow-feather looking on outside the circle. He arose and whispered to a man sitting at the west who appeared to be the leader. The servant asked Crow-feather to come within the circle and told him he would learn something from them. He was asked to remove his buffalo robe and other clothing and enter the circle, naked. He sat on the north side of the fire.

The leader said to him, "Brother, you have been wandering over the hills for some time. We heard your cries and were sad and agreed to pity you and give you a new dance. You will call this dance, iruska (fire inside of all things). Before we impart our secrets you must pass through something difficult. If you do we will teach you our secrets and you will know what fire is."

A bucket of water rested on the fire. The men now began to sing while four of them rose and danced, holding corn husks in their right hands. They danced around the fire toward the bucket of water. They pretended to be attacking an enemy. Finally, they dipped the corn husks into the boiling water and swung them against Crow-feather, scalding him. When the people noticed that he paid no attention to his burns, they shouted, trying to frighten him that way. This too was of no avail. They seized him and held him over the fire. He screamed but they held him and rolled him on the hot coals. After a time he ceased his clamor for he no longer felt the pain. Finally, they took him back to his place.

Another song was sung and all the men around the fire attacked it, now charging it and now retreating. During the third charge, Crow-feather noticed that the screaming and grunting was as of birds and animals. At the fourth charge, he saw that the dancers were imitating animals and birds. As they moved hastily toward the fire he saw each one drop something into it. They turned quickly: some flew away in the shape of eagles, turkeys, and crows, and others ran away as deer, wolves, and dogs. The remainder ran to the pile of burned corn and disappeared.

By this time, the fire was almost burned out. Crow-feather gathered some dry willows and rekindled it. One man stood where the singers had been, and said, "Brother, you must now return to your home. Take four ears of burned corn with the husks on. Tomorrow you must go to the hill where you sat so often. The people you saw here will come and explain what happened to you tonight. Now, go."

He went home. That night he did not sleep well but dreamed of fire. He wrapped up the four burnt ears of corn and placed them on the lodge wall. The

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539 756 next day he went to his usual place on the hill and sat facing east. For a long time he waited there. He knew he had been among strange beings for there were blisters all over his body. While he sat there he heard crows calling, eagles screaming, and turkeys gobbling; wolves howled, dogs barked, and he heard the rattle of deer hoofs. He paid no attention to these sounds, but presently he heard someone walking. The steps came nearer and stopped behind him. He did not look up, but a voice said, "Brother, I came for you, follow me." He rose, turned around, and saw ahead of him a man whom he followed. He was lead through a ravine to a steep bank where they entered. Here the same people he had seen the day before were seated around a fire, singing. Nothing was said but he was given a seat at the south, near the fireplace.

The four men who had tortured him before rose and each took corn husks from a wooden bowl. They danced toward him and struck him on the back with the husks. Then they replaced them in the wooden bowl. Before dancing toward him again they dipped their hands into the contents of the bowl. They moved their hands toward him but failed to touch him. At this point the singing ceased and they asked him to rise. The four men led him to the bowl and rubbed the contents over his head, ears, nose, mouth, and feet. They put his hands into the mixture and he held them there a while. Then they led him back to his place south of the fireplace. Screaming and shouting, he was gradually pushed toward the fire. Finally, they put him on the fire and when they took him off painted him with red paint mixed with roots. Then he was given a place within the circle.

In the evening the dance was repeated, Crow-feather joining the others. When all was over the dancers disappeared in the form of birds and animals. One man only, the leader of the dance, remained. He asked Crow-feather to sit near him and said, "Brother I am a human being. This is my home. I cannot go among our people, for I have no scalplock. Some time ago our people were attacked and on the retreat I was thrown by my pony and stunned. When I revived my scalplock was gone. I had been scalped by the enemy. When I looked around I saw sitting about me, crows, eagles, wolves, and dogs. At night, the wolves lay near me. I wandered over the prairies for I knew I could not return to my people. I dreamed of the birds and animals and decided to try to follow the wolves. I was led to this cave and here the birds and animals came and taught me mysterious things. I stay here and procure my food from our people at night when they are asleep."

"When the birds had taught me they wished me to return home and teach our people what I had learned. When I told them I could not return because I lost my scalplock they said they would give me a headdress which was even more important than a scalplock.

The deer furnished the hair for weaving; the turkey, feathers from his breast to edge the deer hair (also the roots for dyeing it); and the eagle a single feather for the center of the headdress. The bone spreader for the hair I was told to get from the shoulder blade of a deer. They told me to get a two-inch shank bone to set on this. The eagle feather was to be passed through this and tied to the scalplock. When I had procured the materials for the headdress I was ready to make it but did not know how to proceed. I slept and in a vision, saw myself preparing the headdress. The next day I knew how to make it. When it was completed, with the strings on the bones and eagle feathers, I found I could not wear it, I had no scalplock. The animals were distressed at this. They met again and gave me materials for a belt: deerskin, crow feathers, and a wolf tail. I made this. Now I will give them to you to take home."

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He went to the altar and took from the wall the headdress and the bustle. The belt consisted of a strip of deerskin to the middle of which were fastened three sticks about two feet long and decorated with deer hair. At each end of the opposite side hung two sets of crow feathers with wolf tails between each two feathers. 539 756

He gave these to Crow-feather with instructions to take them home and return the next day with his pipe and tobacco. When he returned to his lodge the people asked where he had been, but he did not reply. When his mother offered him food, he asked for a piece of tanned hide in which he placed the bustle and headdress and tied the bundle to the lodge wall.

Early the next morning, he returned to the cave where the man awaited him and said, "Fill the pipe and let us smoke." After they had smoked and the ashes were thrown away, the stranger said, "During your wanderings and peculiar behavior I was with you. I caused you to wander; I like your ways. The men in your village are attentive to women. You are not and for that reason I liked you. Those who wish to learn this dance must avoid women. If married men are to take part in a dance where fire is attacked, they must have no intercourse with their wives for thirty days. They must bathe every morning and evening. Now, I will show you the herbs and roots you must rub on your body when you dance; also the kind of wood you are to use in your fire. The wood and roots are brothers, that is, the roots rubbed on the body make anyone impervious to fire." [834]

They walked on the prairie and finally the man said, "Place four pinches of tobacco on the plant before digging the root." After this he had the privilege of digging as many plants as he wished for they had received tobacco. They returned to the cave and cut up the roots. In the meantime, the stranger instructed him in the performance of the dance. After the roots were dried, they were pounded up, mixed, and placed in a buckskin bag. He said, "This is the way you must prepare the medicine." Before the root is rubbed on the body, it should be put in a wooden bowl filled with water in which four live coals have been placed. Dip some of this up with a small buffalo horn spoon and put it in a wooden bowl and it is ready for use. If an enemy should attack your village do not mix the medicine in a bowl, chew some of the root, take it in your hands, and rub them on a kettle that is covered with soot and then rub the soot on your joints. You will hav no fear of the enemy's fire. If anyone is burned by fire or scalded, chew some of the root and place it upon the affected part and the cure will be immediate. After a time the medicine may be mixed in a bowl and the burnt part bathed with the concoction. After the wound has dried, you must kill a dog, mix the grease from the dog's body with the medicine and apply it to the wound. This will hasten the cure. If a man be wounded in battle, he must chew the root and bathe the wound with a mixture of roots and charcoal. After this the mixture of root and grease should be applied. This is all I can do for you now, but come to me once in a while. I will always be with you. You may now take what I have given you and return to your people."

Crow-feather went home. The next day he returned to the cave and found the man sitting near the fire. He thanked him for what he had done. He gave him presents and said "Brother, I brought these things for you have done a great thing for me." The mysterious man thanked him.

Crow-feather went home. Several days later he determined to see whether the medicinemen understood the fire. He built a sweat lodge of eighteen willow poles. From the hill he brought back limestone which he

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539 756 placed near the entrance to the sweat lodge. In the center he built a fireplace. He put the stones in the fire. When the stones were red hot he sent a messenger to invite eight medicinemen. Buffalo robes were spread over the lodge. When the medicineman arrived he greeted each one saying, "Nawa", and asked him to be seated.

When everyone had arrived, he addressed them, saying, "Brothers, I have made a sweat lodge. The stones are red hot. I sent for you that you may go into the sweat lodge with me. I will cover the sweat lodge with tanned hides and buffalo robes." He covered the lodge and told the men to take off their clothes; he took his off and went into the sweat lodge. He appointed one man as assistant who now carried the hot stones into the lodge and put them on the fireplace. When everything was ready he said, "Brothers, I invited you into this sweat lodge for I have heard of your wonderful doings in the medicine lodge. I brought the timber which now stands over you; I gathered up our grandfathers who were seated upon mother earth and now they are ready to blow their hot breath upon us. The water is before us. We are seated in a dark place. Each of you prepare yourselves, for no one must leave because of the heat. We are now imitating animals and birds."

Each man took his medicine from his belt and chewed it. The owner of the sweat lodge chewed some root and spat four times on the stones, causing a bluish flame to spring up. Then he said, "Brothers, everything is ready. Our grandfathers (the stones) are now ready to listen to us." Every man held out his hands toward the stones and prayed. After the prayers, the owner dipped up water with a wooden ladle and poured it on the stones four times. He told them to wave the bunches of wild sage which they held in their hands. Some of the men enjoyed the heat while others appeared to be in pain. Those who had not applied any medicine suffered most. The owner of the lodge sang and when he stopped, the men who disliked the heat crawled out of the lodge, only four men remaining.

When all was over the owner of the sweat lodge told the four men that he had selected them as singers for a new dance. After they had dressed and eaten he sent them home.

The people began to hold medicine ceremonies during which sleight-of-hand tricks were performed. One night the crow imitators performed. They built a fire and put a large stone on it. When it was red hot they put it on the ground and each man stood on the stone. When all the medicine performances were over Crow-feather brought together men he knew who understood fire and taught them fire songs.

In the winter the people hunted buffalo. When they were near the buffalo he invited the four men he had selected for singers and told them

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he wished one of them to kill a male buffalo whose flesh would be dried and used in a new dance. The man chosen killed the buffalo and the meat was brought to Crow-feather's tipi where it was dried and stored in a parfleche. When they returned to the village, he invited the four singers who came and sat around the fireplace. He said, "Brothers, I have invited you to my tipi. We are going to have a new dance. Before we begin, bring your medicine bags here. Each man must have before him his root for overpowering fire." 539 756

They brought their bags and set them down. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, you are about to learn my secret. I must see what medicine you have for overcoming fire. When I have seen your medicine I will show you mine." He showed his root. Some picked up live coals after applying the medicine to their hands. One man chewed the root, took up a coal with his teeth and lit another man's pipe. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, I am glad. I know you understand the medicine you have. You will help me. I can do as you have done. I will show you my medicine to prove I am not deceiving you." He put a root on the ground, went to the opposite side of the tipi and put a stick with coals on the ground; the root began to move around the fireplace until it stopped at the fire stick. The men were astonished and called the root, "Medicine walking around the fireplace." He put the medicine back in his bag and asked the men to return to his lodge in the evening so he could teach them some songs.

In the evening, they sat at the altar where there were four water drums. Crow-feather said, "Brothers, we are to have a new dance, a medicineman's dance, and not a war dance. I have decided that a chief shall lead us so the smoke ceremony may be held before the dance. Now, we will prepare. For thirty days we must not go near our women. We must take a bath in the creek every day and clean our finger nails. That is all. We will get the drums now and sing."

They sang forty times, ten sets of songs for each time. They were told to announce the dance and its requirements to the village.

After thirty days Crow-feather had his tipi prepared, all its furnishings were moved out. Two poor boys, Blue-bird and White-fox, were selected as assistants. White-fox made a fire for the new dance. The boys sat near the entrance and Crow-feather sat at the altar. The bustle and headdress hung from posts. When he had smoked, he said, "Blue-bird and White-fox, each of you take a pony and bring a lot of dry willows and some cottonwood. I will also send six women for wood." They did as they were told. The wood was placed inside the lodge on either side of the entrance.

Blue-bird was sent for Pitaraysare (Man-chief) and White-fox invited the other singers. The chief sat on the north side near the singers. Crow-feathers said, "Singers, I invited our chief to be with us so he can always

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539 756 partake of our food. Chief, I ask you to lead in the ceremony we are about to have. We need a leader who is keeper of a sacred bundle who can bring the pipe and hold the smoke ceremony. Take pity on me and bring your pipe this evening so the gods may receive the smoke, for it is from the heavens that we have the knowledge of roots and herbs."

The chief replied, "I will do as you wish. I am thankful to be with you and witness what is about to take place. The sacred bundle belongs to the people, for the gods gave us the bundle with the pipe so we could offer them smoke in our ceremonies."

Crow-feather passed his hands over the chief's head and hands, thanked him and said, "Singers and assistants, the chief has consented to bring the sacred pipe. He will be our leader in everything. He will lead us and carry the sacred pipe when we dance through the village. He will not take part in our fire performance. I will teach him our secrets so that he may know what to do if he is requested to do something with the fire." The chief was glad and thanked Crow-feather who told the men to go home and return in the evening.

When Crow-feather and his two assistants were alone he asked them to cover the entrance of the lodge with a skin tent. Then they partook of their evening meal. The chief returned with the sacred pipe and he was given a place to the north of the singers. The pipe was placed in front of the singers who sat at the altar. The assistants built a fire. Crow-feather sat near the singers, and asked how many were prepared to join them. There were sixteen in all, so they could sit in four groups of four each. The assistants were sent for the candidates who were to wait outside and for two of the soldiers who were to remain outside and warn off any intruders.

Crow-feather said, "Singers and other members of the iruska society, we must now begin our ceremony. The chief will fill his pipe and offer smoke to the gods in the heavens." The chief filled the pipe, gave it to the north assistant who took it to the leading singer who said, "Now, iruska, the gods in the heavens will receive the smoke. We will ask our chief to make the smoke offering." The chief rose, went to the altar, and received the pipe from the leading singer. He walked to the east, holding the pipe bowl in his left hand. When half way to the entrance and fireplace he stopped, took a pinch of tobacco from the bowl, raised it toward the east, and placed the tobacco on the ground. He walked west by way of the north and stood near the fireplace, facing east, took some tobacco from the bowl, and offered it to the skies, to tirawahat. Then he placed the tobacco on the rim of the fireplace. He repeated this for each direction. The chief walked northeast of the fireplace by way of the south and sat down. The south assistant placed a coal on the pipe bowl. The chief walked to the

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east with the pipe and took four whiffs blowing the smoke toward the east. Then he stood west of the fireplace, faced east, blew smoke once each to the heavens, to the north, and south, and four times to the west, and emptied the ashes on the rim of the fireplace. He gave the pipe to the leading singer who said, "Nawa." 539 756

Then the candidates were received one by one. The first one who came was told to bathe in the preparation made ready by Crow-feather. When he was ready, he was taken to the fireplace and forcibly placed on the fire. If he had blisters, it was proof that he had not complied with the rule of cleanliness for thirty days. Then he was put on the fire again to cure his blisters. If any candidate proved cowardly he was immediately turned out of the mud-lodge. When all had been initiated, the singers drummed and sang and all the new members danced. The two soldiers entered the lodge for outsiders were now admitted.

They danced until forty songs were sung. After each ten songs they stopped to smoke. After the forty songs the spectators went away. The members remained behind and Crow-feather said, "You who have gone through the fire may now smear your bodies with soot. You are not now afraid of the fire nor of an enemy. Those who wish to remain may do so, the others may come early tomorrow." The chief and the two soldiers went away. The next morning they all swam in the creek and on their return to the lodge were given their proper positions in the ceremony. The four singers were to be leaders. The chief was to be their leader. He was to carry the pipe when the people went through the village to dance at the most important places. Those at the northwest were to be painted yellow; those at the northeast with white clay; those at the south, dark red; and those at the northwest with black soot. The singers were to be painted with soot at their joints.

When everyone was painted and all was ready, the leader of the ceremony said, "Singers, iruska, and chief, we will now go through the smoking ceremony." The chief made the smoke offering and Crow-feathers said, "Now we will begin our dance; the assistants may make a big fire, cut the dried meat and have the brass kettle ready." When everything was prepared he put a new knife in the bottom of the kettle, added water and then the meat. Then the soldiers were called in.

The leader of the singers said, "Chief, soldiers, those of you at stations, and iruska. Something is now at hand. We will begin to sing and all dance. Watch Crow-feather and do as he does. The spectators came in. Crow-feather was the only one who had the bustle and headdress; the others were simply painted. When the singers had sung the third set of songs the assistants made a big fire. They hung the kettle over it. When the last

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539 set of songs was sung the dancers attacked the fire. Finally, Crow-feather
756 danced up to the kettle which was full of boiling soup and took a piece of meat out with his bare hands. He gave it to one of the spectators who burned his hands with it. The rest of the members also did this. At length the dancers dipped bunches of corn husks into the kettle and whipped each other with them but did not burn. The dancing ended when the fire went out.

This was the first ceremony of this kind. After the dance Crow-feather said, "You must now make the headdresses and bustles. Some day we will give a public dance when all must bring spears, bows and arrows, war clubs, and shields so that you can imitate the attack on an enemy in your dance. It shall be known as iruska (fire inside of you). The red headdress represents fire, the black hair fringe represents smoke.[1] This will not be a social dance, neither will the members act as soldiers for the chiefs. We shall be known as medicinemen."

The One Horn Dance.

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756 The members of the one horn dance (raris arika) were young men eligible
721 to go to war. For the dance, the regalia of all the societies were gathered: the war clubs from the sacred bundles, spears, war shields, bows and arrows. During the ceremony they called upon Pahukatawa (Hills along the banks of a river) to help them kill or count coup on the enemy. Women were not
[783] admitted for Pahukatawa directed them to bar women for fear some would be unclean.

The dance was held only when Pahukatawa ordered it and then only
[533] before an attack by the enemy. The songs imitated the bellowing of buffalo. Each dancer seemed possessed with the spirit of a particular animal which he imitated. The dancers wore their war regalia. Those who had war-bonnets had to fasten a whole buffalo horn on the right side of the bonnet. Each dancer was painted according to the dreams of visions he had experienced.
[302] Those representing crows painted with charcoal or soot; jack-rabbits painted with white earthen clay; buffalo were smeared over the mouth and nose with buffalo urine mud; those with bear spirits were painted with red or yellow which represented the sun for the bears sought power from the sun.

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[1] The headdress is the imitation of fire, the red for the blaze, the black hair for smoke. The feather represents the iruska man who understands the fire. He is standing in the fire or has placed the fire about his whole body. The headdress represents the fireplace, the bone tube the medicine, and the feather, the man himself standing in the center of the fireplace. According to tradition, man came from an ear of corn and corn has life and life is fire. The original word for iruska is iriska (singular), iruska (plural), they are inside fire. The wood used for the iruska fire was cottonwood and willows.

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They had one large drum which was made according to the directions of Pahukatawa. Several men cut down a large water willow tree which was split into several pieces. The best piece was planed down then bent over and fastened together with sinew. Four flints were tied inside the drum. The head was covered with buffalo hide and sewed with a rawhide string. When dried it was painted black, the rim red, and four buffalo skulls were marked on the sides. 534 721 756

There were four regular singers and two assistants. Any of the singers was permitted to dance. [533]

This war dance was held to teach the men how to act during battle and to remind them that there was a being who watched over them and gave them courage. 721 756

The origin myth is as follows: —

One day when the Skidi' lived in their old village in Nebraska, seven men went out hunting toward the west. After a few days they came to a willow-covered ravine where they camped. Before sunrise the next morning the youngest among the hunters went up in the hills. As he came to the top of a hill he saw the enemy approaching. Instead of running towards camp he ran towards some heavy timber. The enemy followed. As the young man was afoot they soon overtook and surrounded him. He fought until all his arrows were gone and then they killed him. 539 721 756

The other hunters remained in the ravine and when the enemy left went to the place where the young man had been killed. They found arrows stuck in the ground and long poles scattered about. The young man's body seemed missing, but finally they found it cut up and strewn over the ground. They gathered up the pieces and laid him out. They went home and told the people how the young man had been killed. All the village started out to bury the young man. When they arrived at the scene of the fight they found the arrows and poles but not a sign of the young man. They camped here for several days and searched for the man's bones, but in vain. They continued to the west to hunt buffalo.

Several years passed and the incident was forgotten. One winter evening when the people were living in their mud-lodges some men who were singing round the village noticed flashes of light here and there. They took this to be a warning that the enemy was coming to attack them.

Finally the village quieted down. One man only could not sleep. As he lay awake he heard a sound like rattling buffalo hoofs. The sound came into the lodge and then stopped. As he watched and listened, the man felt first a cold wind and then warm wind against his face and someone whispered: "My brother, I am here. I am the one who was killed a few years ago. I am not dead. I am alive. When I was killed and my body was cut up and pieced together again, the powers in the heavens, on the earth and beneath it, pitied me. They caused all the birds and animals to congregate and make me live again. They promised to return the parts of me they had eaten. Everything but my brains was returned. An eagle and a buffalo bull wished to give me life so they suggested that the thunderbirds (swans) give me their down for brains. You see I cannot speak well for I have no brains. I am everything. When the lights appeared they saw me. I am part of the winds."

"Before sunrise tomorrow you must go to the hills where I will meet you. Fill

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539 721 756

your pipe and let me smoke. Do not fill it with sumach leaves but with tobacco mixed with shavings from an old pipestem. When you light the pipe, hand it to me saying 'Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa.' I will take it and smoke. You will know me as Pahukatawa. Now prepare the smoke for me."

The man took an old pipestem from a sacred bundle and scraped it. He mixed the shavings with tobacco, filled the pipe, lighted it and handing it to the mysterious man said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." All this took place in the dark. The man could see no one, he heard only the whispering. When he passed the pipe someone took it and began to smoke. His visitor took a few whiffs and whispered, "Take the pipe, it is empty. Fill it again and let me smoke." He refilled the pipe and after drawing on it a few times returned it and said, "Brother the smoke is good. Be sure to meet me in the hills tomorrow before sunrise. I chose you, for I like your spirit. I will come to speak to you often. You must have my smoke ready."

He heard buffalo hoofs rattle and could almost see a buffalo walk out of the lodge. Before sunrise the man went out to the hills. He climbed one hill and as he was going down another he came to a deep ravine. He heard a strange cry and as he looked towards the ravine saw a mountain lion ready to spring. He ran back and in a deeper canyon saw a grizzly tearing up the ground. He was frightened and as he looked about for a means of escape, canyon and bear disappeared, and a man stood before him, laughing. The man said, "Brother, why are you frightened? Didn't I ask you to meet me here? That mountain lion was I, so was the bear. Because you were afraid of these animals you will not receive their power. Go home and return tomorrow before sunrise."

The stranger disappeared and the man went home and slept throughout the day. In the evening he filled his pipe and standing outside, west of his lodge, he blew smoke four times to the west and said "Brother, Pahukatawa, I offer you this smoke, do not forget me. Pity me and I will do as you wish." He emptied the ashes from his pipe and went inside the lodge. At dawn he went west into the hills. When he had passed he heard strange sounds which he took to be shouting. The enemy was attacking him; he tried to hide, but could not. The leader carried a pole hung with human scalps. He was frightened and ran. Before him stood the man he had seen the day before. The stranger scolded him and told him that he was the leader of the supposed enemy and intended to endow him with bravery in battle, with power to take scalps and count coups.

Then he told the man to go into the ravine. When he arrived, he saw a buffalo bull charging him. He was not frightened this time. When the bull came close and was about to run him down he closed his eyes, when he opened them, the stranger stood there, wearing a buffalo robe and buckskin leggings. He carried a whole eagle on his back and in his right hand held a staff six feet long upon which was tied eagle down.

The stranger said, "Brother, you have chosen well. I will give you these things. You are to be neither a warrior nor a chief, but a prophet among your people. Repeat to them what I tell you. I have great power from the gods in the heavens and on the earth. I was brought to life again that I might save my people from starvation and from their enemies. If the people see flashes of light around the village tell them they must be quiet. Tell them I am near, and that I bring a message to them for their good. You receive my power as the sun rises. From now on you will be known as Coming-sun. Take these things to your home and I will tell you more about them."

The man disappeared but left the regalia on the ground.[1]

[1] For a different version see Grinnell, (b), 143.

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The same day, Coming-sun invited Big-eagle, the chief of the village, to eat with him. Then he detailed all that had happened from the time of the first flashes of light. The chief examined the bundle of regalia and sent a crier through the village to tell the people not to fear the flashing light for it was Pahukatawa who was killed long ago. Some believed and some doubted the truth of this. 539 721 756

At night Pahukatawa came to Coming-sun and smoked with him and said, "I know our people do not believe you and me, but the time will come when they will." Then Pahukatawa disappeared. He visited Coming-sun now and then and told him that he could not live with the people because he had no brain, but would come when they needed him.

From that time flashes of light were a signal that Pahukatawa was near which was followed the next day by news of an approaching enemy. The people recognized the power of the lights. When Coming-sun heard the buffalo in his lodge he prepared the pipe in the usual way and passed it saying, "Take the pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." After he had smoked, he said, "Brother, I came a long way. I have been among our enemies. All the different tribes have received and smoked the war pipe from the Sioux. They will make war upon us. I have come to tell you so you can warn the people. They intend to wipe us out and burn our village. Tell the people I am coming into this lodge tomorrow. Every keeper of a sacred bundle must bring some native tobacco from it to this lodge. The gods in the heavens and your friends who have passed away wish this tobacco. Be sure that the people bring the tobacco."

The next day Coming-sun told Big-eagle what Pahukatawa had ordered. He sent a crier through the village with the announcement. During the day Coming-sun's lodge was prepared, the beds were removed. In the evening, Coming-sun, Big-eagle, and the crier sat in the lodge, smoking. A fire burned in the fireplace. Then Coming-sun heard a whisper, "Tell the cryer to go to each bundle keeper and ask him to bring tobacco to the lodge where Pahukatawa is waiting."

Soon the men began to come in with their tobacco which they placed in front of the altar which was west of the fireplace. The lodge faced east. When all the tobacco was brought in, it made a large pile extending north and south across the lodge. Spectators soon began to crowd into Coming-sun's lodge for they had heard Pahukatawa was there. They could not see him, but when the fire burned low they saw him in the form of a buffalo sitting down, as an eagle, and for an instant as a man.

Coming-sun said, "Pahukatawa says that it is now that the gods in the heavens and our dead relatives receive the tobacco. He says I must distribute it." Coming-sun sat behind the tobacco and threw it about, but it

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539 721 756 did not fall on the ground. When the tobacco was scattered, he sat at the altar and said, "Pahukatawa says the gods are pleased with the tobacco." Coming-sun told the people that Pahukatawa had told him about a new society and dance, the one horn dance. The people wondered how Pahukatawa would leave the lodge. He knew what they were thinking about and whispered to Coming-sun. "Tell the people that Pahukatawa will leave now, and wishes them to come back in the morning and stay in the lodge all day and plan for the new ceremony." Then Coming-sun said, "Watch Pahukatawa leave us." They watched but instead of a man they saw a buffalo bull rise, shake itself, and disappear. Then they saw where the tobacco had spread. A whirlwind came up, passed through the lodge, and disappeared. The people knew he had gone and left the lodge. Coming-sun and Big-eagle remained behind.

In the afternoon they sent for men proficient in drum-making who were told to obtain timber and buffalo bull hides for constructing the drums. Weeping willow timber was split and planed; the hides were cut in circles and sewed with buffalo sinew. In the evening the drum was still incomplete. The men went to their respective lodges for food.

Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat at the altar. Chiefs and important men made their way to the lodge for they were convinced as to what they had seen. Coming-sun felt cold and warm winds and told Big-eagle that Pahukatawa was with them. Coming-sun prepared his pipe and said, "Take this pipe and smoke, Pahukatawa." In reply, he heard a whispered "Rawa rawa" (now, now). Someone took the pipe and both men heard the smoke inhaled. Then the pipe was returned. Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun that the enemy was approaching. He ordered that in the next three days the people join in building a high embankment around the village. On the fourth night Pahukatawa promised to return. Every man was to be prepared with plenty of arrows, bows, and spears for the dance to be held the next day. Then Pahukatawa disappeared in the form of a whirlwind.

Big-eagle said, "All those here present must help build the earthworks and prepare the bows, arrows, and spears." The next day the people did as they were bidden. At night, Coming-sun and Big-eagle sat in the lodge surrounded by a lot of men. When the drum was ready they taught them the song.

Towards evening of the fourth day Coming-sun told Big-eagle to have the men drive their ponies into camp and decorate their fast horses and then go to Coming-sun's lodge with all the regalia they used in battle. Women were not permitted to enter the lodge. The drum was placed near the altar and behind it sat Coming-sun and Big-eagle. A large fire was built. Then

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Pahukatawa entered the lodge and the pipe was offered him as before. He whispered, "I have come from the enemy's camp which is very near. They will be here tomorrow and we must be ready to meet them. They are very numerous. I will sit before the singers and you two. I will whisper to you what to say to the people. You will see me in many forms. When I am in human form I will sit near you and talk to you. When the men come in have the singers sit around the drum and tell the men to prepare themselves as if they were going into battle. Tell them to wear their quivers over their shoulders but to carry their bows and arrows in their hands. All the men who are to dance must carry their weapons. They are now coming in and I must make myself visible to them for many still doubt me. They do not believe I am here." 539 721 756

Big-eagle saw Pahukatawa in the form of a buffalo, then as an eagle, a wolf, and finally as a man. Those who had known him when he was alive said, "It is he." When everything was ready, the drummers began to sing peculiar songs which the others soon learned. In dancing, they imitated animals, then the drum would be beaten and the men would raise their weapons and charge and then continue the dance.

Pahukatawa whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men to jump up and down and circle the lodge as they dance. Shake the earth for they will receive strength from it. As he dances each man must decide what to do to the enemy the next day. At the end of each song one man should address me and say, 'Pahukatawa, I wish to kill so many; I wish to count so many coups, or take so many scalps.' If I can grant their wishes, I will do so."

After each dance some man stopped and made his request to Pahukatawa, who whispered to Coming-sun, "What he wishes to do, he will do." One young man said, "Pahukatawa I wish to kill nine men. When I attack the tenth man, I wish to be seriously wounded, but wish to recover." Pahukatawa said, "That young man has no faith in me, but what he says will come true." Coming-sun told the men they must not ask to be wounded or killed. The dance continued throughout the night. One feeble old man arose and said, "Pahukatawa, I am old. I have been a great man in my day. I am glad you are with us. I want to count coup once more. Before I die I wish to strike twelve men for I wish to be leader of the party. I want to capture the thirteenth man so that I can bring him home for the women to mock. Pahukatawa whispered, "Tell the man all that he has said will come true."

Towards dawn when the men were resting and smoking, Pahukatawa, whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the people our enemies are up now and are decorating themselves and their horses. I must go now. I will let the people see me before I disappear. I will go to our enemies. I will watch

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539 721 756 them and when they start I will appear on yonder hills as a buffalo. When they are ready to attack your village, I will cause the rain to fall so their weapons will be wet. Do not fear them I will be near you. After you see the cloud, I will appear as a wolf and then get behind the breastworks and defend your women and children."

Then they danced again and Pahukatawa disappeared. Big-eagle dismissed the men and bade them prepare for the attack. As the sun rose someone shouted, "A buffalo is coming over the hills." Then the people knew that Pahukatawa's prophecy was being fulfilled. A small black cloud appeared in the west and a wolf was seen in the hills. Then the people ran to the breastworks. They saw the enemy approaching over the hills from every direction. They charged right into the village but the men shot and killed many of the enemy until their bowstrings were broken and their arrow-heads loose and then they retreated. The men rode after them with their ponies. Each one acted as he had wished during the dance.

The feeble old man was in the battle. When he killed a man he counted coup on him. He rode along until he came up to a man who seemed defiant. The old man waved his hand at him and he threw away his weapons. The old man jumped off his horse and threw the man to the ground with his face downward. He stood on his back, caught his right arm, pulled it out of its socket, and did the same with the left. Then he stood him up, tied a rope round his waist, and led the captive home. As he approached the village he met some old women singing the victory songs. The man threw the rope to them and said, "Take him, you braves, and do as you please with him. He was the leader of the war party."

The old woman took the prisoner. Men came in groups singing victory songs and told of daring deeds; some came with scalps tied to poles and some with scalps under their belts. Women dances, scalp dances, and victory dances were held for many days. The last dance was one by the women acting as men. Women were at liberty to go with any man and men with any woman.

After resting, the men gathered in Coming-sun's lodge and they held the dance during which Pahukatawa appeared at the altar. He whispered to Coming-sun, "Tell the men they must keep this dance. They must dance whenever they see fire flashing round their village. The fire is a warning that the enemy is near. In the dance every man must wear a cap with one horn on the right side. Tell them I cannot always be with them, but they must do as I tell them." The men offered tobacco and smoke to Pahukatawa and thanked him for saving the people.

The dance was kept up for a long time, until the light flashes were seen no more. The dance was continued only by brave men and chiefs. After

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Coming-sun died, Pahukatawa selected another man to talk to. One night this man refused because he was sleepy. To another man Pahukatawa said that he would go away never to return; that he would stay in the north as one of the minor gods in the heavens. He said he would help the people when they called on him. 539 721 756

Since the Pawnee came to Oklahoma they have revived this dance (p. 638). The drum is the same as the old one. At the altar is a whole eagle and in front of it a crooked crow lance. When the ceremony was revived a woman claimed to have seen flashes of light. The dance is still given by the Skidi Pawnee. There is also a pair of leggings which was given to Coming-sun. They have a ceremony known as the warrior's ceremony. This one horn dance was copied by the other three bands, but lacked the power of Pahukatawa. It was a religious dance in which they took part to defend their villages from the enemy. 535 721 756 166

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MODERN CEREMONIES.

527 796 Among the northern Plains tribes there are a number of associations for social dancing and entertainment. Such seem to be wanting among the Pawnee, as the following pages will show, but certain more or less serious ceremonies are now made the occasion for considerable social enjoyment. The widely diffused Omaha, or grass dance, forms of the ghost dance, and of the peyote almost exhaust the list of modern ceremonies. We heard of no women's guilds or clubs and no dances of any kind save those mentioned above.

THE MODERN IRUSKA.

175 177 648 796 The well-known Omaha, or grass dance, is generally known among the Pawnee as a variation of their own iruska (p. 008), though in its present form it was introduced through Oglala influence.

The Skidi Iruska. In 1887 three Pawnee Skidi men went to visit the Oglala Indians. Arriving there, they were entertained by Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses and were feasted throughout the village for several days. On the last day an iruska dance was held for their benefit. The Sioux gathered in a large round house built for dancing. The drum was carried in and the dancers filed in. The Sioux began to sing and the Pawnee noted that the songs were different from their own. However, they danced with the Sioux and received many presents, moccasins, pipes, and beaded objects. The Sioux singers asked the Pawnee to sing some of their songs which the Pawnee did. The Sioux were pleased with the Pawnee singing and gave them more presents.

When the three Pawnee men returned to their home they began to teach other young men the Sioux songs they had learned. One day some Skidi young men came together and Knife-chief told them about the Sioux dance. The old Pawnee iruska dancers never used sleigh bells upon their bodies; but did use them around the drum. The Sioux dancers also wore ornamental clothes while the Pawnee did not. All the Pawnee dancers wore was the headgear and the bustles. The Sioux bustle was also different.

175 575 796 Knife-chief had a bass drum brought in and began to teach the Sioux songs. Those who were not singing, danced, but they did not know how to keep time. After the singing, the dance society was organized. Knife-chief was the drum keeper and leader of the singers. Then two chiefs were

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selected to be leaders on the south side and two for the north side. On each side of these two men the dancers were to be seated. At each end of the row of dancers was to sit a whip man. The rules adopted for the dance were those of the Sioux.

This dance became popular, for every time they had it men and women gave presents to one another. It was kept up until Knife-chief died when his widow took charge of the drum. When her son was old enough he took over the drum and for several years was its keeper. On one occasion a dance was promised on New Year's day, but the boy refused to let the people have the drum. They borrowed another drum and had the dance anyhow. After the dance they discovered that the boy had given the drum to a man who belongs to another village.

In the spring of 1911 Eagle-chief called some young men together and told them he wanted to organize a new iruska dance. This was agreed to by all. Money was collected to buy a new bass drum and sleigh bells. Four chiefs were selected as leaders in the dance: Coming-sun and Sun-chief for the north side, and Struck-enemy and Lone-chief for the south side. Coming-sun now became the leader in the ceremony preceding the dance. He selected six singers: Yellow-horse, Dog-chief, Only-a-chief, Young-cedar-tree, Little-sun, and Young-good-chief. Next he selected the two whip men who were to have charge of all things. Then he selected two chiefs for the dancers on each side: the south side one to wear the bonnet, the north side one to carry the tomahawk. He next selected a man to carry the whistle and then four women to assist in singing: Food-giver, Woman-young-chief, Woman-yellow-corn, and Woman-cedar-tree.

Coming-sun then told the people they would hold a dance the next day and asked each woman to cook something for the feast. The next day people gathered in the round house. The chiefs and dancers sat in their proper places, the whip men sitting at each end. The drum was placed north of the entrance, the singers taking their places around it, the women singers behind the male singers. The visitors sat behind the dancers, the women behind them. The four old men sat at the ends of the visitors' rows. Coming-sun selected one of the dancers to sit outside to keep back spectators.

Coming-sun asked the south side whip man to take some live coals and place them east of the fireplace. Then the whip man was told to go to Coming-sun who gave him a handful of dried cedar leaves. He was then told to place the cedar upon the live coals. Coming-sun then gave the whip man the pipes and passed them through the smoke four times and then handed them back to Coming-sun. Then the whip man was told to take the drum and pass it through the smoke four times and return it to its place.

Next the chiefs one by one went to the smoke and passed through it; then

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575 796 the dancers, first one from the north side, then the south side, and so on. Then the women went to the smoke. When all had gone through the smoke, Coming-sun told the south whip man to return the coals to the fireplace.

276 575 796 When this was done, Coming-sun spoke as follows: "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, notice my speech and actions for hereafter we shall say

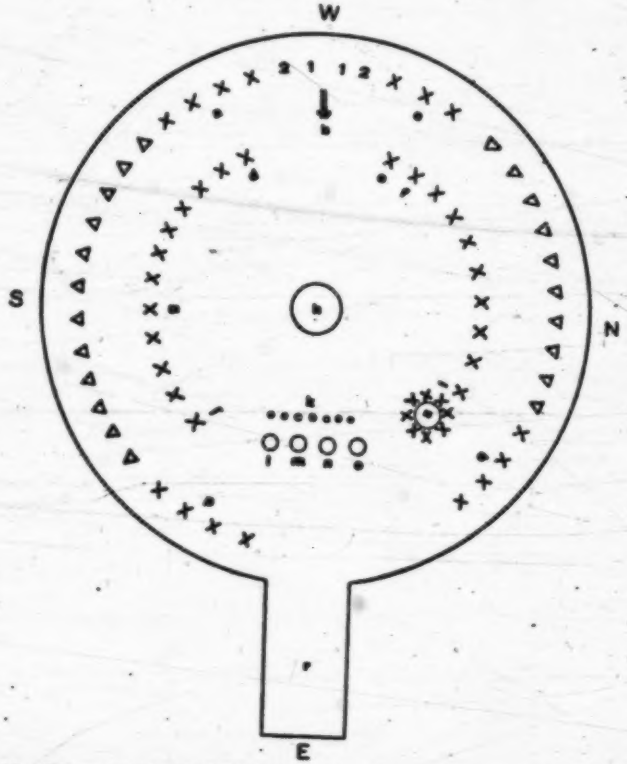

Fig. 18. Diagram of the Skidi Iruska Society. The crosses represent the seats of men, triangles those of women. a and c, visitors of note; b, the pipe; d, the bonnet wearer; e, sword bearer; f, tomahawk bearer; g, whistle bearer; h, fireplace; i, j, whip bearers; k, bowls of cooked maize; l, o, platters of bread; m, kettle of meat; n, coffee urn; p, q, old men; r, entrance way to the lodge; s, drum and drummers. 1–2, 1–2 are the leaders for the two sides.

and do as I am about to do. Above all things, Tirawahat gave the pipe to our people that he might receive smoke from them. We have the pipes here at the altar. They are filled with native tobacco. It is now time for Tirawahat to receive our smoke. As you see the men I select go through

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the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe." 276 575 796

Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe. When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa." The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and permitted those outside to come in. Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say, 'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest." 575 796 [533]

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose everyone had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another and there is a general good time for all.[1] [535] [431]

[1] This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict rules for conducting the dance. Yet the maneuvers and serious parts of the ceremony were all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.— Ed. [177]

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175 575 796 *The Kit'kaházki Iruska.* About 1894 while the ghost dance was still intense a man named Sitting-bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and lead it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the hands of Little-sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-fly-high, also a pupil of Sitting-bear.

575 796 In the Kit'kaházki society there were four chiefs, as among the Skidí. The dancers are on both sides, north and south. At the south side entrance there are four chiefs and four pipes. Next to the chiefs on the north side are two old men. The director of the ceremony sits near the pipes and his assistant, or the whip man, by his side. The singers sit around the drum. [533] Unlike the Skidí when they have sung a set of songs, all smoke receiving no smoke from the chiefs. The songs go in sets of ten.

At a certain point in the ceremony all rise and stand in a circle with the chiefs holding pipes in the center. Then with songs the smoke offerings are made. This is similar to the preceding. After the offering the pipes are delivered to the pipe keepers. In the two last dances everybody takes part and makes them as violent as possible. The ending is as in the preceding. The food is brought in as before. A man and woman are now selected to make the corn offering. The woman receives a small wooden bowl with a horn spoon, she is the donor of the food. The movement to the kettle is different, the man dips out the food into the bowl held by the women. A little from every kettle is taken. Then they go to the west side of the fireplace. The man and woman here offer the food as before. The bowl and spoon are returned to the keeper, while the whip man selects men to hand out the food as before. The head chief at the south side recites part of the ritual and announces the close of the ceremony.

The regalia are the same as for the preceding. The songs and procedures are, however, quite original.

The Chaui Iruska. During the ghost dance excitement Roaming-chief began to dream songs and a form of the modern iruska ritual. Later, he started the organization which spread to the Pítahauírata. Unlike the other iruska societies the drum is set at the west end, or head of the lodge, the old original Pawnee form. The drumsticks are beaded and bear feathers on the end. [293] One chief on each side, some of them have short sticks covered with beads and decked with feathers. The sticks for the two sides are of different colors. There are four of these sticks, and hooked at the end, on the north side; three on the south. No whip man. The smoke ceremony here is before the singing. The staff men rise and hold them as

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signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'-shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidí iruska dog flesh is served. Four men wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

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262 796 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

174 177 648 796 The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance; so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

The Ghost Dance.

668 796 787 According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally to the Wichita.

In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

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games. The old men were playing with the big hoops and sticks; the boys with rings and sticks. He also saw some women playing with baskets and plum seeds and others playing with staves. He could not understand the speech of these people. When the two came to a tipi they entered and there the dead man saw his dead relatives, mothers, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters. The old people sitting near the entrance, he was told, were his grandparents. He was given food and after eating he was told to watch the people who were dancing. 668 96 787

His father took him to the dancing ground. When they arrived, he saw the people dancing in a circle. The dancers were all painted and each wore feathers. Finally, he joined in the dance and learned some of their songs. While dancing he saw people acting queerly and seemingly possessed with a spirit. There were seven singers and two men with long poles acted as soldiers, but took no part in the dancing. Some men inside the ring ran from one person to another finally downing some of the people. These were mesmerizing one another. One man came to him, blew his breath upon his breast, embraced him, and finally blew his breath into his mouth, at which the newcomer fell into a trance. He arose quickly, however, and joined in the dance. He danced a long time until the man who had hypnotized him took him to one side and said, "Brother, you are now possessed with our power. You must return to your people and start this dance among them. Tell them you have seen the Messiah, the Son of the Father in the Heavens. He is leading us to your people. They must dance so they will also receive the power you now possess. We know you are living. Whatever you saw at the tree is yours. Give the red earth you find in the mountains to your people, let them paint their faces before they dance. Tell them of the Messiah and let them mourn as you now see these people do. We mourn for you and your people must mourn also. When you have started this dance among your people you will be able to come to us any time and we will teach you more about our ways. People will come to you from all over the country and you must tell them what you now see. This religion is for Indian people. The spirit will be sent to you. You must now return to your people."

The man then revived and went down from the mountain to his people. Night overtook him as he reached a valley. As he was going through some bulrushes trying to find a bed, he saw someone coming towards him on a mule. He saw that it was the same Messiah he had seen while in a trance. This time the one on the mule said, "My son, what you saw is all true. Tell your people, that I sent you, that my spirit will be with them." Then he disappeared. The man then made a bed of rushes and lay down. The next morning he arose and went on to his home.

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The people were frightened by his return, but when he told his story they rejoiced. Four days after he told them to prepare for a dance. When they were all standing around in a circle, with hands joined, he told his story. Then he began to sing and all moved around in a circle and began to have queer feelings, shivering all through their bodies. When the prophet shouted, some of the weaker ones fell into a trance. Sometimes when he waved the cotton handkerchief at some of them they would go down while others danced on. Some who began to mourn, cried out, holding their hands towards the skies and cried and cried; seemingly they could not stop crying.

This dance was carried on by the Paiute in Nevada until a northern Indian came to visit them. The story is told that this northern Indian had lost his child and was wandering over the country when he finally came to the dance and there was able to see his lost child through the prophet, Jack Wilson. He also saw their strange doings and got the story from Jack Wilson, who claimed that he knew beforehand that he was coming. This northern Indian returned to his people and told them about the new religion. He claimed that he himself had seen the Messiah in the mountains, that he also had seen his own dead relatives, that the Messiah had talked to him and that through the Messiah he had seen the dead people. So a party of four men, Badger, a Sioux, Sitting-bull, a Northern Arapaho, and two others went to Nevada to visit the prophet.

When these men arrived at Walker Lake, they found Jack Wilson and his Indians dancing. They made him some presents and asked to see the Messiah and their dead relatives to which Wilson replied, "Go and dance with my people and you will see all you want to see." These men joined in the dance. In a few days they too fell into a trance and saw the Messiah and their dead relatives.

These four men then went north to their homes; Badger, the Sioux went to the Standing Rock Agency and started the dance. Sitting-bull, instead of going to his own people, the Northern Arapaho, came into Oklahoma. This was about 1890. Here he started the ghost dance among the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne. Soon the news spread among the Wichita, Kiowa, and Comanche. At this time a young Pawnee Indian, Frank White, living among the Wichita, joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah, and then the village of people. He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in Pawnee. The first song was as follows: —

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Wey rey hey iri ai ra.
Now you are coming.

Weyti ku wa tura wa hey.
I am longing for the village (kingdom).

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Wey ri hey iri si ra.
Now you are coming.

A sicks u wey ta tu ta hi i.
And now I place my spirit upon you.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-bull. 668

In the fall of 1892, Frank White came among the Pawnee and told his story to a few of his friends. He selected a few young men to whom he taught some of his own songs and also some Arapaho songs. As soon as they could sing a few songs they went to a camp to dance. There were about five singers, four women, and three boys. They selected a space east of the camp and started to dance. Whenever the prophet shouted, the dancers dropped to the ground in a trance. Some of the dancers began to mourn and others shook all over, for a mysterious spirit took possession of them. Then they danced a short time. The prophet told them of his experiences. He told the people that if they made up their minds to dance and see the Messiah, and their dead relatives, they would fall and see them; that the principal thing in the dance was to mourn and be humble in spirit. He then sent them home. 796

The next day, the people told of the dance they had and how they trembled and fell. The chiefs of the different bands took it up and set a day for the people to make their camp circle on Camp Creek. When the people had made camp, the chiefs met in council and invited the prophet. They asked that he start a dance and tell the people about the new religion. The prophet consented. A special tipi was set up for the prophet where he was to stay with the singers. The next day the prophet sent two of the singers through the camp to get some paint of all colors from each tipi. This paint was taken to the prophet who gave orders that all who wanted to dance must come into the tipi and have their faces painted. Each Indian now took presents to the tipi and was then painted. The singers painted their faces. Everybody was ready. The prophet went out of the lodge, the others following. They came to an open space where the prophet and singers joined hands and stood in a circle and sang. The people in the village came out of their tipis and ran to the circle. Some did not get into the ring for the unknown spirit took possession of them and stopped them. They raised their hands to the skies and began to cry. In the ring the dancers began to tremble; some seemed crazy. When the prophet went to them, they fell to the ground. Late in the evening they quit dancing, and then feasted.

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668 After they had eaten they danced again until ten o'clock. Men and
786 women returned to their tipis, mourning and crying and having shaking fits.
796 About five o'clock they began to dance again. This time there were about four men and three women who seemed to be trembling badly. They ran around the camp crying, "I do not want you, go away from me." About the third day, one of the women fell and lay on the ground about five minutes and then sat up. She began to cry and finally her crying turned into a song. One man went to her and she told what she had seen while she lay on the ground. The fourth day a young man fell and lay upon the ground all night. When he came to, he ran to the prophet's tipi and told what he had seen. The prophet ordered that all the people go upon a hill and hear the young man tell his story. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. When all the people were on the hill, standing in a line facing west, the young man was told to sit down in front of them, the village crier went and sat beside him. The young man told the following story:

668 When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I felt a queer
786 sensation passing through my body. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange
787 being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from
796 the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, "My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people." I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me, and said, "My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing." So we went on and there in the center of the village, our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying upon the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw.

668 The people went to him and as each person took hold of his hand, he
786 either fell or began to tremble. After this four men were selected to smoke
796 to the dead people. After the smoke everyone began to cry. Then the prophet and the new prophet ran around among the people throwing them

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down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth." Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right.

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahauirata village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will.

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Naturally, they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the arrest of White by United States marshals.

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Christian elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the many rival prophets.

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

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668 796 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. [177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now [316] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple. [361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical [787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog [524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

The Peyote.

276 794 About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to [177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked with Christ.

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with Christ. Under this new leadership the membership increased. The Oto carried the ceremony to the Omaha. Among the Pawnee the cult is found chiefly among the Pítahauírata where this new form originated; later, it found a following among the Chauí and then among the Kit'kaháxki with a few scattering adherents among the Skidí. 276 794

Naturally, this new leader introduced some original features. A special form of painted tipi was used, somewhat like that for the ghost dance. Certain changes were made in the rattle and the form of the drum. There is also an elaborate altar and the circle is divided into the usual north and south sides. 276 794 796

Among the special ceremonies is one for the water bearer. At midnight one is sent to get water from the stream. As he is under the influence of the drug he may fall into the water and drown, so special songs are sung during his absence to guard him. When he enters with the pail, it is purified in a cedar smudge, an offering made and then passed for drinking.

At dawn as the sun appears, the ritual is interrupted long enough to sing a special set of songs. While this is going on, the door curtain is raised so that the first rays of the sun may strike the altar. At the close of this special ceremony the ritual is resumed where left off.

The last songs of the ritual refer to Christ. The final song is repeated five times after which each member in turn prays to God.

A woman then enters with water, parched corn, and candy. She and the food are purified in a cedar smudge, then she retires. First the water is passed, then the corn, and finally the candy, circulating in this order until all is consumed.

The members now sit in their places and talk over their experiences. The objects used in the ceremony are gathered up and put away. The leader closes the meeting at noon with a lecture, or sermon, on ethical matters, speaking especially against the use of alcohol. Some Pawnee leaders refuse membership to all using alcoholic drinks.

At noon the members are invited out to dine by some leading man. When seated the leader takes up a pitcher of water and prays to God. Then he fills a glass and taking a sip passes it around the circle in true church fashion. Then they eat without ceremony.

After the meal the members again assemble in the peyote tipi, but this is an informal gathering where they discuss freely their faith and practise singing such songs as desired.

In the evening they depart. As each one leaves, he stands by the fireplace, holds aloft his hand and prays aloud. Then he shakes hands around the circle, pauses at the door to hold up his hand and perform certain other symbolic gestures, then passes out. So with all in turn, the leader being the last to go.

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276 The peyote tipi is dismantled the next day and the camp broken.

794 It may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to
796 have his revelations during the ghost dance excitement. One of his individual doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore.

The One Horn Dance.

178 Among the Skidí there is a modernized form of the one horn dance (p.
796 623) organized about 1893. It took its form from the dreams of a woman. The man who spoke to her in the dream ran away as a buffalo. She went out at sunrise and saw a ring come down from the sun. Little by little she dreamed the songs and taught her husband. Finally, an eagle came to her in a dream and she was ordered to get an eagle. This she did. Again she dreamed of a crooked crow-feathered stick, this was made. Then a drum was made.

The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one horn dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman.

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MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly responsible. 776 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies. 292 796

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires. 224

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed. 361

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.) 622 756 782 [565] [773]

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778 However, there was one bundle jointly dependent upon animal powers and tirawahat, the keeper of which could appeal to both.

Coups. The Pawnee count coups but they are of no particular importance. They do not qualify a man for service. A Pawnee must have consecrated buffalo, wildcat skins, etc. This takes the place of the coup among other tribes; for important services one must have four or more of these consecration ceremonies to his credit.

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535 *Eagle Dance.* There was long ago a kind of eagle dance in the Pitahauirata division, but we have no data upon it.

Exchange of Wives. According to the Pawnee, the Arikara exchange of wives is due to the necessity of passing instructions through a woman and not directly to a man. The Pawnee have no such conception or practice. Instruction among them is direct. An Arikara gives his wife to a medicine-man in order to learn his secrets. This is considered no disgrace to the woman but is spoken of in medicine ceremonies that people may know that she had been given away to receive instruction for her husband. By virtue of this she becomes the owner of all ceremonial animal skins and sacred bundles.

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Hunting Ceremonies. There seem to have been no hunting ceremonies for bear, but peculiar beaver ceremonies may be noted. When a trapping party took its first beaver, a special feast was given. The whole animal was cooked. The head, feet, and tail all went to the host. Every morsel must be eaten and the broth drunk. Then the bones were gathered up and thrown into the water. For no other animal are such procedures known. Eagle trapping, for which there was a ritual, was formerly practised.

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838 *Love Medicine.* There were no love medicines as among the northern Indians. However, charms, songs, etc., to lure women were furnished by sexual perverts who lived somewhat apart and were in social disrepute.

726 *No-flight Idea.* A lariat rope seems to have been in the war regalia and taken out with an organized war party. With this one could stake himself down before the enemy, if he chose, or had made the vow.

342
532 *Painted-Tipis.* Among the Pawnee decorated tipis were the homes of medicinemen and, hence, bore animal symbols exclusively, or almost so. Deeds in war were painted upon robes, but not upon tipis.

834 *Sex Taboo.* Success in all shamanistic feats requires a period of restraint in which women must not be so much as touched. While this is emphasized in the iruska narrative (p. 609) it is fundamental for all Pawnee medicine-men. Its appearance elsewhere in special connection with the modern iruska dance, suggests Pawnee influence.

276 *Smoking.* A Pawnee man was not permitted to smoke until he had performed certain qualifying ceremonies. Only a relatively small number

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were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being doctors. 276 [562]

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture. 796

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants. 789

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow. 249

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches. 754

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CONCLUSION.

It is interesting to summarize and systematize the concrete data presented by Mr. Murie. While as stated, the bundle scheme of the Pawnee is the foundation upon which their social and ceremonial organization rests, the most fundamental conception seems to be the division of the people into north and south sides, or winter and summer people. Individuals belong permanently to the sides of their mothers. When games are played, the line-up is according to this hereditary division. In all ceremonies the seats of the winter people are in the north half of the circle and those of the summer people in the south half. Officers and functions in ceremonies are duplicated and the leadership shifts from one side to the other according to the season of the year. Even the modern borrowed ceremonies of the peyote and the ghost dance are organized in this way and it may be safely assumed that any general gathering of the Pawnee no matter what the purpose, will seat itself by sides.

We have noted the asymmetry of the division, for we find by far the greater number of villages on the north side. All societies exercised care to select an equal number of members from each side so that asymmetry would not appear in the order of seating in the lodge. Again, in games the number of players on each side was made equal. Thus, the few villages on the south side had a large representation in all ceremonies.

It would be interesting to consider the origin of this very suggestive social cleavage, but we fear it is indeterminable. According to the tradition this line-up occurred when the Skidi federation was formed by the inauguration of the four-pole ceremony and was merely a matter of geography. This may be, but the fundamental character of the division leads one to suspect that it is much older than the federation. It has also its parallels among the Omaha [1] and neighboring tribes where all the gentes are given fixed places in the two segments of a tribal circle. If, however, the Skidi borrowed this Siouan scheme it is clearly possible that in its inauguration the Loup River should have been taken as marking off the two sides; but then how comes it that in all ceremonies the concepts of this dual division are found? It seems much more likely that if the federation was formed in the traditional manner, it took on the dual divisions as a matter of course since they occurred in all ceremonies.

[1] Fletcher and La Flesche, 134.

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In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phenomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preceding concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction. Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Ogiala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system. [171]

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